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The Children of the Working Class AND THE PARTI OUVRIER FRANCAIS



VER since it has had a general program—formulated by the Marseilles Congress in 1879, and further elaborated by the Havre Congress in 1880—the Parti Ouvrier Francais, this instrument of unceasing warfare, has always made the conquest of the City Halls its object. But these efforts became more pronounced and successful after the international congress of Paris in 1889. The Parti Ouvrier had then taken root more deeply in the country. Its adherents had increased in number and its power had grown considerably. The seed scattered through France by indefatigable militant Socialists under Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue had germinated. We are beginning to harvest the fruit.

The eighth congress of the Parti Ouvrier, held at Lille in 1890, had reorganized the party on a new, but more solid, basis by regulating its internal affairs. Its advance on the enemy was now less hampered. The ninth national congress, held at Lyons in 1891, brought the weapons for fighting and conquering on the municipal battle ground. Without giving itself to any illusions in regard to the importance of the municipal powers that are not, and cannot be, instruments of emancipation, the Patri Ouvrier used the positions carried by it for strengthening the working class and preparing the social revolution. To-day it holds important municipalities, won at the point of the ballot in the elections of 1892, 1896 and 1900. The advantage to which it has used them has brought results that throw terror into the bourgeois ranks.

The municipality, a mere geographical term since 1789, is in all its vital acts under the bondage of the central power which always interferes to the disadvantage of the laborers. Outrage-

ously limited by bourgeois legislation, the municipal power is unable to accomplish any really Socialistic reforms. Nevertheless, the Parti Ouvrier succeeded in introducing measures for the benefit of the working class, wherever it entered into office. To delve into its municipal program and apply the reforms it contains was sufficient.

As we have said before, the municipal program of the Parti Ouvrier is the outcome of the deliberations of the Lyons congress of 1891. In the words of Guesde, this congress occupied itself with the armament of the French laborers by elaborating a common program which could serve as a banner for rallying us at all points to the advance against the enemy, no longer in loose file, but in serried ranks like a disciplined army. The congress took the existing laws into consideration. It did not demand that the city halls conquered by us should start the social revolution which requires that the powers of state now in the possession of the capitalists pass into the hands of the workingmen. It was simply called for the purpose of examining what advantage it could derive from that inferior tool called the municipal power.

Although the Socialists elected in the communities cannot eliminate the poverty and servitude of the workingmen, still they have at their command a series of immediate measures, of partial improvements, that are to the interest of workingmen and serve to rally to the support of our program of capitalist expropriation and social appropriation those masses that for the first time feel the protection of the authorities. Condensed into fourteen articles, these improvements and immediate demands make up the following program:

1. Institution of commissary departments in the schools, where the children may find at reduced prices or free of charge a meal with meat between the morning and afternoon sessions; and twice per year, at the beginning of winter and summer, distribution of shoes and clothing.

2. Introduction of clauses in the city regulations of public works reducing the working day to eight hours, guaranteeing a minimum wage determined by the council in harmony with the trade unions and prohibiting contract work, which was abolished by the law of 1848. Organization of an inspection service for the purpose of enforcing these causes.

3. Labor bureaus entrusted to the administration of trade unions and incorporated groups.

4. Abolition of revenue taxes on food products.

5. Exemption of small renters from all furniture and personal taxes and shifting of these taxes in a progressive scale to members of a higher class of taxation. Sanitation and repairing of unhealthy habitations at the expense of the proprietors. Taxation of vacant lots in proportion to their market value and of unrented rooms in proportion to their rental value.

6. The municipalities, the labor bureaus or the trade unions to act as employment agencies, and licenses of private employment agencies to be revoked.

7. Institution of maternity hospitals and homes for aged and invalids of the working class. Night lodgings and distribution of food for journeying and employment-seeking workingmen who are without any fixed place of abode.

8. Organization of free medical service and sale of drugs at reduced prices.

9. Establishment of free public baths and lavatories.

10. Creation of a sanatorium for children of the working class and utilization of existing sanatoriums at the public expense for the same purpose.

11. Free legal consultation for litigations in which working-men are concerned.

12. Remuneration of municipal offices on the scale of the highest wages of laborers so as not to exclude from the public administration a whole class of citizens, and the most numerous at that, who only live by the work of their hands.

13. In the meantime, the jurisdiction of the *prud'hommes* (arbitrators) to be regulated in a manner corresponding to the interest of the working class, and *prud'hommes* of the laboring class to receive a salary high enough to make them absolutely independent of the employers.

14. Publication of an official municipal bulletin and posting of municipal decisions on bill boards.

As soon as the Socialists were elected they met for business. Elected by a class, the working-class, they had to serve that class. Especially the successful bourgeois candidates received a lesson from them. Since the downfall of the empire the municipalities were, and still are in many places, in the hands of the Opportunists and Radicals, veritable reactionists. Both of them had profited considerably thereby, but none of them had ever done anything for the workingmen. As Lafargue declared with good reason, the municipal councils had in most cases been only instruments for them to make or increase their political or material fortunes.

It must be acknowledged that they never had any qualms about squandering the funds of the communities and giving themselves to all manner of intrigues. The future of the communities was pledged away and debts were contracted. Lille furnishes an absolutely characteristic example: When the Socialists entered the city hall they found that their predecessors had permitted the construction of gigantic works costing 1,200,000 francs without having one sou in their treasury, without raising and booking a single credit.

There was a scandal when this mare's nest was discovered. The same state of things developed elsewhere. In Rouilly-sur-

Seine, in Croix, in Ivry-sur-Seine, in Armentieres, in Roubaix, in Sainte Savine, everywhere the Socialists found themselves face to face with lamentable financial situations.

With the entry of the Socialists of the Parti Ouvrier Francais into the municipalities a new era commenced for the working-men. The finances were put on a solid footing, order and regularity were introduced in the administration. Reforms were realized in hygiene, in school matters, in public works, etc. To-day it is possible to take a brief view of the work accomplished by the Parti Ouvrier. It is considerable and should be known.

Le us examine in rapid succession that part of it which relates to the schools, to the children of the working class. In this department of ideas the Parti Ouvrier has accomplished admirable results, such as the commissaries in the schools and the sanatoriums. We shall choose our examples from places where these reforms are carried out most completely, especially in Lille and in Roubaix.

THE SCHOOL COMMISSARY.

The school commissaries are not the invention of socialists, but the socialists of the Parti Ouvrier are the only ones who on their entry into the city halls have shown a serious desire to feed the children of the working class during the noon recess, by putting section I of their Lyons program into practice. Roubaix, conquered by the Parti Ouvrier in 1892, was the first to realize this reform, the most admirable of its creations. Other towns conquered by the party followed this example, especially Lille, Montlucon, Croix, Ivry-sur-Seine, Hellemmes, Marseilles, Roanne, etc.

Our friends thought that, if it was necessary to secure the intellectual bread, that is education, for the children, it was just as necessary to secure the material bread, that is food, for them. In our industrial centers, where the working class is so poor, how many children cannot go to school and thus come in conflict with the laws on free and compulsory education, because their stomachs are empty! One cannot learn anything when he is hungry.

What the bourgeois republic neglected, the Parti Ouvrier accomplished. It feeds the children and instructs them at the same time. This fact of teaching and feeding at the same time contains, as it were, the embryo of the education of the future.

The school commissaries were instituted in Roubaix as the result of deliberations held on May 9., 1892. Their efficiency is assured by the school funds, since the municipality, in spite of its good intention, is not permitted by law to meddle with such matters. The children of all schools take part in these commissaries, which at the present moment number 29. The commissaries are open on all school days. The children are admitted

either free or for a small charge. The following tariff was fixed for paying pupils, who are as scarce as fine days in the regions of the North: 15 centimes (3¢) per meal for kindergartens and 20 centimes (4¢) per meal for primary schools.

The bill of fare, regulated by the medical service of the schools, is as follows: *Monday*. Beef tea, boiled beef, potatoes, bread, beer. *Tuesday*. Vegetable soup, roast, peas or beans, bread, beer. *Wednesday*. Beef tea, boiled beef, potatoes, bread, beer. *Friday*. Vegetable soup, roast veal, potatoes or green peas, bread, beer. *Saturday*. Beef tea, roast, peas or beans, bread, beer.

The fare is changed every day and the food, carefully inspected, is healthy and clean. The quantity of food varies with the age of the children. The youngest ones receive: Beef tea, 8.82 ounces; meat (raw) 1.76 ounces; potatoes (raw) 5.29 ounces; beans or small peas 2.29 ounces; bread 1.058 ounces; beer 3.527 ounces. The oldest children receive: Beef tea 14.109 ounces; meat (raw) 2.65 ounces; potatoes (raw) 8.82 ounces; beans or small peas 2.82 ounces; bread 2.82 ounces; beer 7.05 ounces.

The cook and her assistants, boarding at the commissary, receive: the former 50 francs per month, the others 40 francs per month. Every commissary receives 40 francs per month for supervision, which is carried on in turn by the male and female teachers. About 4,000 children take their noon meal regularly.

The following statistics show the number of meals distributed and the sums spent exclusively for them.

| School year. | Meals. | Expenses. |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1892-93..... | 161,432..... | 33,721.59 francs |
| 1893-94..... | 239,691..... | 43,087.05 " |
| 1894-95..... | 283,041..... | 56,894.84 " |
| 1895-96..... | 384,233..... | 76,873.09 " |
| 1896-97..... | 472,562..... | 103,207.19 " |
| 1897-98..... | 496,245..... | 99,924.57 " |
| 1898-99..... | 571,012..... | 122,667.78 " |
| 1899-00..... | 605,446..... | 131,913.30 " |

This makes a total of 3,213,662 meals distributed at an expense of 668,289.41 francs during 8 years. It is significant. For, mark well, this sum does not include the expenses for utensils, rent, salaries and other sundry costs.

In Lille, where the Socialists have been in power since 1896 only, the school commissaries are nearly everywhere installed in the same manner as in Roubaix. Nearly all the school children are fed free of charge. The price of a meal is fixed at 10 centimes (2¢) for paying pupils, who are as scarce in Lille as in Roubaix.

The bill of fare is as follows: *Monday*, *Wednesday* and *Saturday*, beef tea, boiled beef. *Tuesday* and *Friday*, vegetable soup,

roast. Bread and beer are given at all meals. The quantity of food given is the same as in Roubaix.

The cooks receive 2.25 francs per day; the assistants 1.75 francs. The male and female teachers who supervise the children receive 20 francs per month during the school months.

In Lille, the commissaries exist since 1897 only. The average daily attendance was 4,213 in 1897; 4,669 in 1898; 5,328 in 1899; 5,698 in 1900. The number of meals reached 54,251 in 1897; 899,671 in 1898; 899,144 in 1899, and 1,059,079 in 1900. The expenses for the meals alone were 71,251.34 francs in 1897; 112,692.29 francs in 1898; 121,256.84 francs in 1899, and 136,636 francs in 1900. This makes a total of 2,912,145 meals for 441,836.47 francs in four years.

I believe it will be useful to publish the statistics of the products consumed during the last year, 1900:

| Products. | Quantity. | Prices. |
|---|--------------|------------------|
| Beef | 76,278 lbs. | 43,851.53 francs |
| Veal | 19,309 " | 12,538.22 " |
| Tallow | 1,364 " | 491.05 " |
| Cabbage | 3,381 " | 3,074.95 " |
| Codfish | 792 " | 360.00 " |
| Potatoes, onions | 242,000 " | 9,159.64 " |
| Sorrel | 5,009 " | 1,252.45 " |
| Beans | 475 " | 6,330.37 " |
| Sardines | | 1,497.30 " |
| Green Pepper | | 2,467.46 " |
| Maccaroni, rice, milk products. | | 3,710.00 " |
| Condiments | | 5,384.04 " |
| Eggs | 110,000 " | 6,985.96 " |
| Beer | 38,573 gal. | 19,332.08 " |
| Bread | 156,402 lbs. | 17,200.25 " |

In Ivry-sur-Seine, there are also school commissaries that took up their functions in November, 1896. The number of meals distributed was 14,384 in 1896-97; 16,699 in 1897-98; 16,846 in 1898-99; and 18,720 in 1899-1900. Three hundred children were daily admitted to the commissaries. The expenses were 5,000 francs per year.

In Croix the first school commissary was opened on July 1, 1898, and distributed 8,198 meals up to December of the same year. It served 11,862 meals in 1899. A second commissary, opened May 15, 1899, distributed 10,750 meals up to the end of the year. Two new commissaries were opened in March, 1900, which brings the number of commissaries in the kindergartens up to four.

There is also a similar service in Hellemmes. In this community 10,381 meals were distributed during 1899. A sum of 1,968.64 francs was spent. Marseilles, which also has such a de-

partment, spends considerable sums for it. During the winter of 1900-1901 such commissaries came into activity in the kindergartens of Fourmies and were each patronized by an average of 150 children. The municipality decided to introduce such departments in the course of this year in all the primary schools of the town. For this purpose a credit of 2,000 francs was entered in the budget.

These commissaries were also introduced in the kindergartens of Roanne. About 700 children take their meals there. For these departments the town of Roanne spends in general expenses and for meal tickets the sum of 9,000 francs. The Socialist municipal council of Cette also installed such departments in its schools.

The towns of Wignehier and Rouilly-sur-Seine have entered in the budgets of this year credits for the creation of school commissaries. In the canton west of Montlucon such a commissary was established. Two hundred pupils 8 years old and over take their meals there. The annual expense is 6,000 francs. Besides, three new commissaries will be established. The expenses of construction and installation will be raised by a loan which is near its realization.

CLOTHING AND SHOES.

The inevitable corollary of school commissaries is the free distribution of clothing and shoes. The elected members of the Parti Ouvrier understood this. In conformity with the decisions of the Lyons congress, large sums were appropriated and spent for this purpose in nearly all the communities where the Socialists are in power. The distribution takes place in the beginning of winter. It is just as necessary as the distribution of food. One cannot go to school if he is hungry; neither can one go, if he has no shoes and clothing.

In order to gain an idea of the importance of this distribution, examine the following figures for Roubaix:

1892. 500 caps, 800 pairs of trousers, 2,450 jackets, 1,000 woolen skirts, 1,000 wraps, 2,082 pairs of brogans, 700 pairs of wooden clogs and 2,782 pairs of stockings, in all 11,314 objects with 14,139.81 francs.

1893. 490 caps, 780 pairs of trousers, 2,380 jackets, 4,480 pairs of stockings, 3,230 pairs of brogans, 1,250 pairs of clogs, 980 woolen skirts, 1,000 wraps, in all 14,590 objects worth 18,785.16 francs.

1894. 400 caps, 700 pairs of trousers, 3,450 jackets, 3,600 pairs of stockings, 3,600 pairs of brogans, 2,800 shirts and 2,000 aprons, in all 16,550 objects, worth 23,931.38 francs.

1895. 700 caps, 800 pairs of trousers, 2,400 jackets, 4,600 pairs of stockings, 4,600 pairs of brogans, 2,860 skirts, 2,000 aprons, in all 13,360 objects, worth 23,175.94 francs.

1896. 700 caps, 800 pairs of trousers, 2,400 jackets, 4,600 pairs of stockings, 4,600 pairs of brogans, 2,860 shirts, 2,000 aprons, in all 17,960 objects worth 24,903.91 francs.

1897. 700 caps, 800 pairs of trousers, 2,400 jackets, 5,600 pairs of stockings, 5,600 pairs of brogans, 2,840 shirts, 600 aprons, 600 woolen vests, 500 shawls, in all 19,640 objects worth 25,692.31 francs.

1898. 1,500 caps, 1,750 pairs of trousers, 3,400 jackets, 7,500 pairs of stockings, 7,500 pairs of brogans, 700 pairs of shoes, 3,950 shirts, 1,000 aprons, 2,000 woolen vests, 2,000 shawls, in all 31,300 objects worth 39,125.09 francs.

1899. 1,530 caps, 1,780 pairs of trousers, 3,429 jackets, 7,702 pairs of stockings, 729 pairs of brogans and shoes, 6,973 of so-called Polish brogans, 4,024 shirts, 995 aprons, 2,013 shawls, 1,715 woolen vests, in all 30,890 objects worth 38,027.94 francs.

In Lille the same assistance in clothing and footwear was given to the needy pupils of the public schools. The following objects were distributed.

1897. 4,076 clogs, 4,715 pairs of stockings, 2,475 pairs of brogans, 1,183 pairs of shoes, 4,318 pairs of trousers, 4,020 skirts, 2,723 vests, 6,456 aprons, 7,909 shirts, 120 wraps, in all 37,995 objects worth 43,724.69 francs.

1898. 4,076 clogs, 2,637 brogans, 1,784 pairs of shoes, 4,622 pairs of stockings, 4,285 pairs of trousers, 2,674 vests, 4,095 skirts, 6,388 aprons, 5,780 shirts, 270 capes, 470 wraps, in all 37,054 objects worth 45,481.06 francs.

1899. 4,225 clogs, 2,589 brogans, 1,522 pairs of shoes, 4,834 pairs of stockings, 4,382 pairs of trousers, 4,361 skirts, 6,841 aprons, 333 capes, 7,998 shirts, 458 wraps, 2,692 vests, in all 40,235 objects worth 45,480.79 francs.

1900. 4,087 clogs, 2,053 brogans, 2,684 pairs of stockings, 436 pairs of shoes, 4,477 pairs of trousers, 2,421 vests, 496 wraps, 7,414 shirts, 4,573 skirts, 5,164 aprons, 187 capes, 22 woolen vests, in all 34,014 objects worth 47,060.76 francs.

A sum of 2,961.18 francs was spent from 1896 to 1899 for clothing and footwear of the school children in Croix. In Ivry a credit of 2,500 francs was applied for the same purpose in 1895. In 1896 it amounted to 3,600 francs, in 1897 to 3,500, and so forth, to 1899. For 1900 a sum of 10,000 francs was apportioned for 1,200 children. Rouilly-sur-Seine also distributes large quantities of clothing and footwear. A sum of 3,000 francs was annually spent for clothing needy pupils of Montlucon. The expenses for the same purpose amounted to 3,600 francs in 1901, and 1,500 children received clothing.

THE VACATION SCHOOLS.

The Socialist municipality of Lille has created an institution which should be made known and for which the families of the

laborers are very thankful. I am alluding to the vacation schools that are organized every year, since 1897, on the morning following closing day. Two hundred or 250 children, half of them boys, half girls, selected in proportion to the number of pupils in a school, are sent out to the farmers of the neighboring villages for twenty days.

These are generally children of delicate health who need the fresh air and sunshine of the country. They are also children who, poor and deprived of many things, will be glad to leave their habitual environment for another one which is momentarily more cheerful and agreeable. Boarding with the owner of the farm, singly or in groups of two or three, according to the room which the farmer can spare, the children drink good milk, run about through the fields and woods and breathe a pure and invigorating air different from that in smoky towns full of bad smells and various microbes.

In the first year, 100 boys and 100 girls had been sent to Calais, to the seashore. But in the following years the elected Socialists deemed it more practical to keep the children under their eyes and entered into negotiations with the farmers who enthusiastically accepted the offer made to them. The expenses amounted to one franc per day per child for 20 days.

In 1898, 200 children were sent to the country near Lille, to Louvil, Genech, La Caillere, etc. The expenses were 4,279.75 francs. In 1899, 204 children enjoying the same privilege required an outlay of 4,329.30 francs. In 1900, the number of children reached 250; 5,187.20 francs were spent for them.

Supervisors nominated for this purpose accompany the children on their trip back and forth and visit them several times during their stay. The results obtained by this trip have surpassed all expectations.

The Socialist officials in Roanne have put a similar system in practice since last year. Through the agency of the school funds, they send the anemic children to the farmers in the mountains surrounding their town. Care and good meals out in the pure air are given to the children.

These trips are made during vacations and last several weeks. This work for which the officials in Roanne voted a first credit of 800 francs, was unanimously applauded by the working population.

LOANS OF HONOR.

Another innovation was tried successfully by the Socialist municipality of Lille. Its council created a LOAN FUND which is of the greatest advantage to students just on the eve of examination, who are temporarily embarrassed for money. It is a well known truth that all who wish to pass their examination must pay up the entrance dues that are sometimes very high. The

same fee must be paid by all students, rich or poor. The sons of the bourgeoisie do not feel this as a hardship, but it is a crushing weight for the students who come from the ranks of the laborers and small employers, whose resources are so modest that the money is often missing on the eve of an examination, which is thus postponed for several months.

The Socialist municipality well understood all the difficulties confronting the children of the working class, who on leaving the primary schools wish to study and create for themselves a better existence by going through the course and examinations of the so-called official sciences. Therefore they created the LOANS OF HONOR for the convenience of poor or momentarily embarrassed students.

The institution of loans of honor by municipalities is an innovation in France, and we are proud that the Parti Ouvrier has taken the initiative.

This excellent idea was put into practice in the following manner. Every year since 1897 a sum of 2,000 francs was entered on the budget. This sum is left in the hands of the president of the university who disposes of it at his will. The municipality demands only that the money be used exclusively for loans to poor students and that a general report, without any names, be filed annually. The refunding of the loans is left to the convenience of the students.

As the Socialist officials wished to spare the feelings of the applicants as much as possible, they reduced the formalities necessary for admission to this benefit to almost nothing. The students have simply to file with the faculty a petition endorsed by the mayor, the dean or any professor, and that is all. To-day this innovation works to the best advantage of the students.

While speaking of students, let me mention the following little circumstance: Thanks to the Socialist officials, theater tickets are sold to the students of the Musical Conservatory, the Academy of Fine Arts and the University at a reduction of 50 per cent. Let me also add that the pupils of the primary schools are admitted free to the theater several times during the year. Clauses to this effect were inserted by the municipality in the contract with the administration of the theater.

ASSISTANCE TO MOTHERHOOD.

The Socialist municipal council of Ivry-sur-Seine took a special interest in motherhood. Considering that motherhood is a social function, the most sacred of all functions, which is entitled to the greatest attention, the Socialist officials introduced into their budget a column headed "ASSISTANCE TO MOTHERHOOD." What is more necessary than to care for the mothers of the working class who reproduce or perpetuate humanity?

The assistance to motherhood is in existence since July, 1898.

At that time 15 francs were paid at the birth of the third child. Since then this has been raised to 30 francs. Besides, the council decided that at the birth of the fourth child, an assistance of 15 francs per month for six months should be granted to mothers of the working class.

The credits raised for this purpose were as follows:

| | | |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|
| Six months 1898..... | 750 francs | 3rd child |
| Six months 1899..... | 4,800 " | 3rd child |
| Six months 1900..... | 3,395 " | 4th child |

The municipal council of Rouilly-sur-Seine followed the example of Ivry. Since January 1 of this year the same service is in practice. Six thousand francs were entered on the budget. The Socialists of Rouilly added another article, which gives a prize of 100 francs at the birth of the seventh child.

In Ivry, the Socialist council has considerably enlarged the midwives' services granted to poor families. These families thus receive assistance at the moment when they need it most. The cost of assistance given by midwives amounted to 344 francs for 59 births in 1896; to 552 francs for 43 births in 1897; to 648 francs for 62 births in 1898; and to 700 francs for 59 births in 1899.

In Roubaix, every person who demands it receives a full baby's outfit free, besides the ordinary assistance in money given to mothers of the laboring class. For this purpose 6,000 francs are entered on the budget every year. Lille devotes 9,000 francs per year to assist mothers. The Socialist council of Cette has created a free service for the assistance of mothers, which is of real value.

THE NURSERIES.

Always with a view to assist the families of the working class, the Socialist municipalities have created nurseries. Article 7 of the municipal program of Lyons provides for them. In industrial towns nurseries are indispensable. Since the capitalist rule forced the women into the factories out of the homes, in which they cared for the children before the bourgeois revolution of 1789, nurseries have become an undeniable necessity. Before the entrance of our friends only two private nurseries existed in Roubaix, and they were without the most elementary necessities. The Socialists subsidized them, until the municipal nurseries could be established. At present two nurseries are under the administration of the municipality. The first one is established since May 2, 1894, the second since August 17, 1896.

The nurseries are open every day, except Sundays and legal holidays, half an hour before and half an hour after working hours. Only such children are accepted whose parents work outside of their homes. No child is permitted to pass the night in

them. Admission is free. The expenses for the nurseries amounted to 8,271.85 francs in 1894; 11,761.33 francs in 1895; 14,906.50 in 1896; 19,326.99 in 1897; 17,582.87 in 1898; 18,601.10 francs in 1899. During the last year 226 children attended the nurseries.

Since 1896 a nursery is established in Lille. During 1900 14,000 francs were spent as against 9,969.29 francs in 1899 for different expenses, such as care, food, salaries, etc. Only children of 15 days to 3 years are admitted. Absolutely nothing is charged for this service. The nursery is opened at 5:15 A. M. and closed at 7:30 P. M. The officials comprise 7 women; one female manager, two attendants, one washer woman, one scrub woman, one wet nurse and one cook. Their wages vary from 15 to 12 francs per week for 5 days work. The officials receive board.

The following details are not without interest. The little children are nursed six times daily; the first time at 6 A. M., the second at 9 A. M.; the third at 11:30 A. M.; the fourth at 2:30 P. M.; the fifth at 4 P. M.; and the sixth at 6 P. M. The quantity of milk given to the little ones varies according to their age; a child 15 days old receives 2.12 ounces; one month old, 2.65 ounces; 2 months old 3.53 ounces; 3 months old 4.27 ounces; 4 and 5 months old, 4.94 ounces; and 6 to 9 months old, 5.82 ounces.

Not everywhere is this department organized as in Lille and Roubaix. However, in Roanne, the care and supervision of the children is assured in all the schools. The pupils of the primary schools may come to school from 5:30 A. M. to 6 P. M. In the kindergartens the children are cared for from 5:30 A. M. to 7 P. M. All these children may, if they like, take their meals at the school commissary. For the supervision—and studies—of children outside of the regular hours, Roanne spends 15,500 francs per year.

Ivry-sur-Seine spent 180,000 francs for the construction of its two nurseries, and it costs 20,000 francs annually to run them. Each nursery daily admits 40 children absolutely free. In Croix a nursery is in course of construction. In Montlucon a supplementary institution for taking care of kindergarten pupils from 4 to 6 P. M. was created two years ago and costs 2,300 francs per year. The Socialist council of Marsillargues assures the care and supervision of the children during the time of the vintage for all parents who are forced to be absent from home.

THE SCHOOL SUPPLIES.

The bourgeois republic decreed that education should be free, but it did not decree that the means of instruction should be given to poor children. In the majority of cases the latter are unable to buy the most indispensable supplies, such as books, pens, paper, etc. In most of the communities the Socialists had to take

by the Parti Ouvrier and explaining the term SANATORIUM, the speaker continued: "But we may conceive of a sanatorium in a wider sense, in the sense of an annex, not to a hospital, but to the school commissary. We may consider it as a country colony, where as large a number of our children as possible will go every year by turns for recuperation, and those will be chosen who are the weakest and are most in need of the strength and de-the matter in hand and grant to the children, to all the children, the necessary school supplies.

Before the Socialists obtained the municipal powers, the children bought their supplies, and if they could not buy them used such as they could borrow from their more fortunate playmates. The Socialists changed this state of things. Everywhere they give free text-books, free copy-books, free materials. Marsillargues, La Crotat, Cette, Avion, Auchel, Vieur, Conde, Marseilles, Fourmies, Wignehier, Lille, Roubaix, Croix, in a word, all the towns held by our party distribute school supplies free.

These supplies cost in Roanne 10,000 francs per year and benefit 2,500 children. In Roubaix 40,113.10 francs were expended in 1896; 35,542.79 francs in 1897; 43,168.09 francs in 1898; and 39,676.12 francs in 1899. In October, 1900, Fourmies spent 5,000 francs for free supplies. In Ivry-sur-Seine 10,000 francs are spent annually for 3,000 children. Nearly 4,000 francs are expended in Cette every year. In Helleennes 700 pupils receive supplies, the average expense is 3,000 francs. The 4,000 pupils who attend the schools of Montlucon likewise receive free supplies. The yearly budget for this purpose 16,000 francs. Lille had an expense of 37,076 francs for this service during the past year.

THE HEALTH OF POOR CHILDREN.

The municipality of Roubaix first of all put article 10 of the Lyons program in practice. It understood that to furnish bread, instruction and clothing to the children of the working class was not enough. It was also necessary to restore them to health, which had been broken from lack of care and by poverty. The children of the rich receive admirable care when they are sick. Physicians and medicines are never wanting. And if their health requires it they are sent to the seashore or to the sunny country for recovery.

But the children of the laborers lack the means for all this. When there is no bread or hardly enough of it, one cannot call the physician or pay the druggist. One takes what care he can and cures himself. The children of the poor are in need of air and sunshine. The Parti Ouvrier said to itself that the community, being the great family, should assure health to the children of the proletarians within the limits of possibility. After establishing the school mess, the Socialist officials of Roubaix, there-

fore resolved to send the sick children of the poor to the sanatorium in St. Pol-sur-mer.

The resolution was adopted on April 15, 1896. At the session of the council a very interesting lecture was given. "The school messes," said the speaker, "that function in Roubaix better than anywhere else, form but a part of the task incumbent on the Socialist municipalities. After the education, after the bread, after the clothing, the community, this great family, must safeguard the health of the children within the limits of possibility." Then, after announcing that this reform had been adopted development which the sea can give them. Your municipality has chosen a sanatorium of this kind after a visit to St. Pol near Dunkerque."

The contract between the management of the sanatorium and the municipality was sanctioned by the council in its session of July 17, 1896. Concluded for a period of three years, it went into force on January 1, 1897. Before this date, a trial term was given to the end of 1896.

The contract of 1896 lapsed on December 31, 1899. The Socialist council renewed it for another term of three years in its session of February 9, 1900. Since the making of the first contract, the town of Roubaix sends its weak, anemic, varicose and lymphatic children, whose delicate constitution demands the healthgiving effects of the salubrious sea air, to the sanatorium. From August to October the number of children sent is no less than 100 and no more than 150 per month. During the other months the number of children depends on the choice of the town.

The price paid by the town is 1.25 francs per day per child. This covers the cost of board, lodging, washing, entertainment, etc. The children daily pass a free medical inspection. The cost for sick children who require medical treatment and drugs amounts to 1.50 franc per day. The transportation is paid by the town and the care of clothing the children is left with the parents. Only those children take part in religious services whose parents demand it. The children are all well cared for and well fed.

Since the Parti Ouvrier introduced this reform 1,866 patients have benefited by the stay on the seashore, basking in the sunshine, inhaling the salt air with full lungs and gaining the strength they needed. The following figures show what has been accomplished since the creation of this service.

In 1896 (trial period) 78 children were sent; 41 boys and 37 girls. Cost 2,089.85 francs.

In 1897, 584 children were sent; 337 boys and 247 girls. Cost 27,786.85 francs.

In 1898, 612 children; 347 boys and 265 girls. Cost 28,496.40 francs.

In 1899, 592 children; 329 boys and 263 girls. Cost 26,143.69 francs.

Such is the result of the institution created by the Socialists of Roubaix in the interest of working class children who are sick, weak and in want of pure air. The example of Roubaix should be imitated by all the municipalities conquered by the Socialists. The municipality of Croix sends its school-children to the sanatorium of St. Pol since 1898. Twenty-six children profited by this service in 1898, 38 in 1899. Nearly 50 were admitted in 1900.

As to Lille, this city has cared for the health of its poor children since 1897. In that year 41 children went to the sanatorium, 281 in 1898, 434 in 1899 and 372 in 1900. During the first four months of this year, 113 patients were sent. The expense amounts to 1.50 francs per day per child. The service required an outlay of 1,989 francs in 1897; 11,551.50 francs in 1898; 10,942.50 francs in 1899, and 16,062.20 francs in 1900. The first four months of this year have cost 4,786.50 francs. In Avion, the Socialist council likewise voted funds for sending sick children to the sanatorium.

CONCLUSION.

Such is the principal activity unfolded by the Parti Ouvrier Francais by means of the administrative power of the communes, for the benefit of the working class children in general, for the school children in particular. We have chosen at random such important ameliorations as happened to flow from our pen from among those that were put in practice by all communities where the city hall is entirely in the hands of the Socialists. We have not referred to any city halls where our party is in the minority and where some reforms were introduced, thanks to this minority.

This rapid and incomplete sketch has but one purpose: to show that in contradistinction to the bourgeois municipalities, the Socialist municipalities serve the children of the working class. We said it and we lay stress on the repetition: The work of the Parti Ouvrier for the children of the proletarians has been highly successful.

What characterizes its work from this special point of view, in the communities where it is in power, is that it substitutes the great collective family of the community, the great human family, for the ruined and poor individual family destroyed by capitalist rule.

The Socialist communities feed, clothe, educate, entertain and nurse the children, in short, give them everything demanded by education, health and material necessities. Amid great difficulties and within limits it cannot pass, the Parti Ouvrier prepares the family of the future with the education of the future.

We submit this part of the work which the Parti Ouvrier has accomplished to the judgment of all comrades.

CHARLES VERECQUE.

(*Translated by E. Untermann.*)

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—We have passed in silence the raising of the teacher's wages, the creation or enlargement of the labor exchanges, the benefits of all sorts granted as rewards or for necessities; the subsidies to the school funds and the annexes, etc. We wished, let it be repeated, to mention only the principal points of the municipal activity of the P. O. F.

A Picture of American Freedom in West Virginia



OME months ago a little group of miners from the State of Illinois decided to face the storm and go to the assistance of their fellow-workmen in the old slave state of West Virginia. They hoped that they might somehow lend a hand to break at least one link in the horrible corporation chains with which the miners of that state are bound. Wherever the condition of these poor slaves of the caves is worst there is where I always seek to be, and so I accompanied the boys to West Virginia.

They billed a meeting for me at Mt. Carbon, where the Tianawha Coal and Coke Company have their works. The moment I alighted from the train the corporation dogs set up a howl. They wired for the "squire" to come at once. He soon arrived with a constable and said: "Tell that woman she cannot speak here to-night; if she tries it I will jail her." If you come from Illinois you are a foreigner in West Virginia and are entitled to no protection or rights under the law—that is if you are interested in the welfare of your oppressed fellow beings. If you come in the interest of a band of English parasites you are a genuine American citizen and the whole state is at your disposal. So the squire notified me that if I attempted to speak there would be trouble. I replied that I was not hunting for trouble, but that if it came in that way I would not run away from it. I told him that the soil of Virginia had been stained with the blood of the men who marched with Washington and Lafayette to found a government where the right of free speech should always exist. "I am going to speak here to-night," I continued. "When I violate the law, and not until then will you have any right to interfere." At this point he and the constable started out for the county seat with the remark that he would find out what the law was on that point. For all I have been able to hear they are still hunting for the law, for I have never heard from them since. The company having called off their dogs of war I held my meeting to a large crowd of miners.

But after all the company came out ahead. They notified the hotel not to take any of us in or give us anything to eat. Thereupon a miner and his wife gave me shelter for the night. The next morning they were notified to leave their miserable little shack which belonged to the company. He was at once discharged and with his wife and babe went back to Illinois, where,

as a result of a long and bitter struggle the miners have succeeded in regaining a little liberty.

Up on New river last winter I was going to hold a meeting when the mine owner notified me that as he owned half the river which I had to cross to get to the meeting place, I could not hold the meeting. I concluded that God Almighty owned the other half of the river and probably had a share or two of stock in the operator's half. So I crossed over, held my meeting on a Sunday afternoon with a big crowd. The operator was present at the meeting, bought a copy of "Merrie England," and I hope has been a fairer and wiser man since then.

One of the saddest pictures I have among the many sad ones in my memory is that of a little band of unorganized miners who had struck against unbearable conditions. It was in a little town on the Tianawha where I spent an Easter. When the miners laid down their tools the company closed their "pluck me" store and started to starve them out. While they were working the poor wretches had to trade at the company store and when pay-day came their account at the store was deducted from their check. The result was that many a pay-day there was only a corporation bill-head in their pay-envelope to take home to the wife and babies. Enslaved and helpless if they dared to make a protest or a move to help themselves, they were at once discharged and their names placed on a black list. Ten tons of coal must go to the company each year for house rent; two tons to the company doctor who prescribes a "pill every five hours" for all diseases alike. You must have this corporation doctor when sick whether you want him or not. Two tons must go to the blacksmith for sharpening tools; two tons more for the water which they use and which they must carry from a spring half-way up the mountain side, and ten tons more for powder and oil. All this must be paid before a penny comes with which to get things to eat and wear. When one hears their sad tales, looks upon the faces of their disheartened wives and children, and learns of their blasted hopes, and lives with no ray of sunshine, one is not surprised that they all have a disheartened appearance, as if there was nothing on earth to live for.

Every rain storm pours through the roof of the corporation shacks and wets the miner and his family. They must enter the mine early every morning and work from ten to twelve hours a day amid the poisonous gases. Then a crowd of temperance parasites will come along and warn the miners against wasting their money for drink. I have seen those miners drop down exhausted

and unconscious from the effects of the poisonous gases amid which they were forced to work. The mine inspector gets his appointment through a political pull and never makes anything but a sham inspection. He walks down "broadway" with the mining boss, but never goes into "smoke alley" where men are dropping from gas poisoning. Then he walks out to the railroad track and writes his report to the government telling how fine things are.

I sat down on the side of the railroad track the other day to talk to an old miner. "Mother Jones," said the poor fellow, "I have been working in this mine for thirty-three years. I came here when it first opened and have worked faithfully ever since. They have got every penny I ever made. There has never been a ray of sunshine in my life. It has all been shadow. To-day I have not a penny in the world. I never drank. I have worked hard and steady." Just then he suddenly rose and walked away saying, "Here comes the superintendent. If he saw me speak to you I would lose my job."

As I look around and see the condition of these miners who produce the wealth of the nation, and the injustice practiced on these helpless people, I tremble for the future of a nation whose legislation legalizes such infamy.

"Mother" Jones.

The Labor Problem in South Africa

N April, 1897, a commission was appointed by the Transvaal Volksraad to inquire into the complaints of the British mine owners and to make recommendations for the removal of the alleged causes of dissatisfaction.

This commission made its report a few months later in a volume of 747 pages published at Johannesburg, which has been practically inaccessible in England until an association known as the "Aborigines Protection Society" undertook in June, 1901, to republish such parts of it as related to the problem of native labor.

It appears from the report just published by this society that the gold and diamond mine owners were dependent on the Kafirs for their labor supply, and were put to great expense and inconvenience in bringing their African laborers from remote regions to the mines. They were obliged in the first place to pay some one several shillings and sometimes as much as a pound per head for the business of collecting the natives and forwarding them to their destination. Then they had to pay the railroads for their transportation, and risk getting back the amount later on by deducting the same from the wages of their laborers. In addition to this, they had to feed their workmen on the route and pay the costs of a complicated series of fees and passes which the South African Republic—at the instigation of its citizen farmers and alien mine owners—had imposed upon the Kafirs before permitting them to travel in any direction in search of work.

It will thus be seen that the British mine owner had to incur considerable expense in getting his laborers to the spot, and as he paid them not more than 50 or 60 shillings per month, they would have to work quite a while before they would be able to pay back with their toil what their employer had advanced in getting them there.

Most of the Kafirs had been living on "kraals" before engaging to work at the mines, and were accustomed to a simple pastoral life. With their cattle and their small farms they could live comfortably with their families at small cost and with little exertion. Only the strongest and toughest natives could stand the hardships of the mines, and heavy manual labor in the bowels of the earth became quickly distasteful to these black sons of the forest and the open plain. The result was that most of them would refuse to abide by

their agreement and they deserted the mines every year in large numbers.

This tendency was accelerated by a determination on the part of the mine owners to reduce wages to the lowest point possible. But the lower the wages were reduced the more the Kafirs would desert, and although stringent laws existed to punish them for breaking their contract, these laws for the benefit of British mine owners were seldom enforced by the South African Republic. It is a thankless task to enforce a fugitive slave law for the return of somebody else's wage slave, and so no doubt the Boers regarded it. Perhaps they did not blame the Kafirs very much for preferring an agricultural life to that of a contract miner. Any way, in their stolid Dutch fashion they continued to ignore the complaints of the British, and contented themselves with polite excuses and a general do-nothing policy, which greatly incensed the mine owners.

Finally, the "Industrial Commission of Inquiry" was appointed by the Boer government and the British mine owners were invited to appear before it and state their grievances and their recommendations.

Extracts from the report of this commission are interesting reading. Not only do they throw a curious side light on the part that the labor question played in bringing about the South African war, but they expose the true relations which exist between capital and labor in all countries. The mark of benevolence being laid aside the capitalist mine owner bluntly states the conditions of the labor problem as he understands them.

A gentleman by the name of George Alba presents the capitalist's views of the situation to the commission as follows:

"The reduction of native labor is necessary for two reasons; the one is, to reduce our whole expenditures; and the second has a very far-reaching effect upon the conditions which may prevail with regard to native labor in the future. The native at the present moment receives a wage far in excess of the exigencies of his existence. The native earns between 50 shillings and 60 shillings per month, and then he pays nothing for food and lodging; in fact, he can save almost the whole amount of what he receives. At the present rate of wages the native will be enabled to save a lot of money in a couple of years. If the native can save 20 pounds a year, it is almost sufficient for him to go home and live on the fat of his land. [Happy native! To have a home and land somewhere that he can go back to and live on! He is not a thorough wage slave as long as he has this option.] In five or six years' time the native population will have saved enough money to make it unnecessary for them to work any more.

[i. e.—in the mines.] The consequences of this will be most disastrous for the industry and the state. *This question applies to any class of labor, and in any country, whether it be in Africa, Europe or America.* [Italics my own.] I think if the native gets sufficient pay to save five pounds a year, that sum is quite enough for his requirements, and will prevent natives from becoming rich in a short space of time."

After some further explanations were offered in reply to the questions of the Boer representatives, the following conversation took place between Mr. Alba and a Boer member by the name of Smit:

Mr. Smit—Do you intend to cheapen Kafir labor? How do you propose to effect that?

Mr. George Alba—By simply telling the boys that their wages are reduced . . .

Mr. Smit—Suppose the Kafirs retire back to their kraals? In case that happened would you be in favor of asking the [Boer] government to enforce labor?

Mr. George Alba—Certainly,—a Kafir cannot live on nothing.

Mr. Smit—You would make it compulsory?

Mr. Alba—Yes. I would make it compulsory, and without using force a tax could be levied. If a white man loiters about he is run in. Why should a nigger be allowed to do nothing? [—on his own land, that is. Take it from him by taxation—a brilliant idea, quite worthy of an Anglo-Saxon philanthropist—reduce him to the status of the proletariat in Christian England and America.] If there is a famine in the district the government has to pay for it, and that falls back again on the industry. Therefore, I think a Kafir should be compelled to work in order to earn his living.

Mr. Smit—Do you think you would get the majority of the people on the Rand with you in trying to make the Kafirs work at a certain pay?

Mr. Alba—I think so.

Mr. Smit—Would it not be called slavery?

Mr. Alba—Not so long as the men earned a certain amount of money. [It would be called "the dignity of labor" and is so called elsewhere in this report by one of the British mine owners.]

Mr. Smit—if a man can live without work, how can you force him to work?

Mr. Alba—Tax him, then! If I have five pounds to spend, I don't want to do any work; but if the government passes a law that all gentlemen at large (who you may know in South Africa often call themselves that) must pay three pounds per month tax, there only remains two pounds, and I am forced to work!

Mr. Smit—Then you would not allow the Kafir to hold land in the country, but he must work for the white man—to enrich him? [Evidently this Boer is taking a sly stolid enjoyment in the rare sight of a benevolent Briton unmasked.]

Mr. Alba—[Cautiously replacing the mask, but conscious of its futility on the present occasion.] He must do his part of the work of helping his neighbors. How would the government like us to sit down and say that we have enough money; where would the state drift to? [Where, indeed? Possibly not into the South African war?] There is always competition in labor, and when once a man tastes the fruits of his labor, he will work. [Without hypocrisy this is meant to read: "Whenever once a man is *deprived* of the fruits of his labor, he will work—at any loathsome and killing task.]

Mr. C. J. Joubert, Minister of the Mines, now takes hold of the witness, and probes for further expressions of the commercial longing for the re-establishment of slavery,—the British being credited with its abolishment in South Africa.

Mr. Joubert—You said yesterday that if a law could be made for enforced labor, it would be a great assistance. Is that your opinion?

Mr. Alba—Yes.

Mr. Joubert—Is there a law in England to get forced labor?

Mr. Alba—No; nowhere in the world as far as I know.

Mr. Joubert—Then why would you like it here?

Mr. Alba—I have not asked for it. But I told you what the consequences would be if we reduced the price of labor and the natives refused to work here. Then I suggested to impose a head tax, and I think Mr. Smit asked me if I thought it would be a good thing to have forced labor. I—as an employer of labor—say it would be a good thing to have forced labor, but another question is whether you could get it. You could exercise a certain amount of force among the natives if you impose a certain tax upon each native who does not work, or if he has not shown he has worked a certain length of time. The law then should be for the native that if he does not work for a certain number of years, or if he is too rich to work, he must pay.

Mr. Joubert—You know of no other country where there is such a law?

Mr. Alba—There are no Kafirs in any country I have been in, but the rich man who does not work has to pay a higher tax than the poor man who has to work The proportion of taxes goes up in proportion to a man's wealth. [Mr. Alba probably knows this to be false but hopes the Boer does not. If it were true, the rich man would be compelled to go to work again.]

Mr. Joubert—But although in London there are no Kafirs, there are poor whites?

Mr. Alba—[With great cheerfulness.] Oh, yes!

Mr. Joubert—Are these compelled to work?

Mr. Alba—[With joyful recollections of the slums of London and the great army of the unemployed.] You do not need to tell a man to work there; he will work if he can only get it! [Having no kraals to retire to—no lands to live on.]

Mr. Joubert—Is it the same here?

Mr. Alba—[With sadness.] No. A Kafir can get work if he will come.

Mr. Joubert—[With boorish simplicity.] But still they live?

Mr. Alba—[Bewildered.] Who?

Mr. Joubert—The poor at home.

Mr. Alba—[Recovering his spirits.] Oh, yes! They live!

The report before me gives extracts from the testimony of fourteen mine owners and managers who practically agree in their plea for a reduction of wages, and an urgent demand that the Boer government shall use its powers first as a detective agency in compelling deserters to return to the mines, and secondly as a slave driver in taxing the natives so heavily that they will be driven by hunger to forsake their kraals and work in the mines for a bare subsistence wage.

It is vastly to the credit of the members of the Boer commission that they replied to the insolent and inhuman demands of the British mine owners by refusing flatly to recommend to their government the imposition of a higher tax on the long-suffering Kafirs (who are already taxed beyond the limits of a white man's endurance) or any measure that would be equivalent to forced labor.

Under British pressure they did recommend, however, "the establishment of a Government Department for the procuring and supplying of native labor for use in the gold mines"—and of a local board by which the British owners could practically control the action of the Boer government in the matter of labor representation.

The recommendations of the commission were naturally distasteful to the Volksraad. That they were not satisfactorily carried out was one of the complaints (on the part of the British) which led to the breaking out of the South African war.

The "Aborigines Protection Society" adds that "they are now being zealously and imperiously urged upon the present administrators of the Transvaal."

Dublin, N. H.

Caroline H. Pemberton.

Socialism in English Trade Unions

 **N** RESPONSE to the request which you have made upon me to give you some impression as to the relationship between the Trade Union movement and Socialist sentiment in this country, I will, in a brief way, proceed to sketch out the lines upon which we, in the advanced movement, are at present working.

You will remember that during my sojourn in America I pointed out the necessity of those holding Socialistic convictions of identifying themselves with trade union propaganda. I believe that either here or in America no revolutionary movement taking up an entirely and definitely antagonistic attitude to trade union principles can ever succeed or gain the confidence of the mass of workers. Of course, there is a fundamental difference between the movement in the old country and that of the American continent, and the reasons for this I pointed out in a good many public statements in America. Our franchise is so limited, and the system of dividing up the country into small slices and designating them parliamentary divisions, does not afford us the same facilities as you people have in America. There is, at present, a movement in this country to solidify the different Socialist organizations with the trade unions for political purposes. To some extent this has brought about a better understanding and a more harmonious feeling between the separate organizations. We have here, as you are aware, two active propagandist Socialist societies, namely, the Independent Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation. I do not want to disparage the useful work of a literary character which has been given to the movement by the Fabian Society, but it is not so definitely Socialistic nor so pronounced in its policy as the other two organizations. As a result of the passing of what is now euphemistically called the Collectivist Resolution at the Trade Union Congress some years ago we have now established a joint labor representative committee. It embraces the three Socialist organizations, and also something like 350,000 organized trade unionists. There is, to an extent, a policy of give and take recognized by this body, although it cannot in any way be called a compromise of principle. If the Socialist organizations bring forward a candidate on the clear cut Socialistic ticket, either for parliamentary or municipal honors, he receives the endorsement of this joint committee, for the reason that his society is affiliated. On the other hand, should a trade union, which is also affiliated, bring forward one of its members who was not prepared to endorse the entire So-

cialist program, but who was prepared to declare for independent political action and the formation of the labor party in the legislative assembly, this person's candidature would also be endorsed by the labor representative committee, notwithstanding the fact that the different Socialist organizations were affiliated. This line of action may not appear quite clear to the aggressive American Socialists, but in this country those of us who have long taken up what is called the extreme side of the trade union movement are convinced that it is the only method whereby we will at an early date secure something like distinct representation absolutely independent of the orthodox parties in politics. We have long had reason to complain of some workmen who, in years gone by, have been returned partly by the trade union and partly by one or other of the old political parties. When they have been returned, though perhaps with the best intentions, they have never been able to clear themselves from the trammels of that party which countenanced their candidature and assisted in their success. This has rendered direct labor representation more or less of a farce up till recently, but we are hoping that under the agency of this joint committee we will be able in spite of the tremendous obstacles, to form a parliamentary labor group at no distant date. At the general election of October, 1900, in spite of the patriotic fever which then existed and which carried the great mass of the people of this country into a blind worship of the great imperialistic party, we were successful in securing the return of at least two members, both of whom are members of the joint committee already referred to. A number of others, including friend Thorne, of the Social Democratic Federation, stood on this ticket, and although defeated on account of the feeling of the country at the time, many of them polled very heavily. At present there is evidence that the more thoughtful of the British workers are getting more or less tired of this fiasco in South Africa, and if we are capable of strengthening and cementing the labor forces for political purposes we hope to do better when the next opportunity presents itself. The Conservative and Liberal parties in this country practically occupy the same position in the world of politics, commerce and industry as do the Republican and Democratic parties in the United States. I notice from recent American newspapers that the Democratic party is splitting up into factions because they are unable to agree upon a common platform. It is somewhat of a remarkable coincidence that the Liberal party in this country is in the same hopeless condition, some of the members taking up a strong imperialistic attitude while others of the leaders endeavor to advocate a policy of peace and retrenchment. It is also an undoubted fact that at the present moment the Conservative government, notwithstanding its rather large majority, secured on what are called the great imperialist issues, is becoming weaker day by day. Even its own

supporters on the back benches and outside the official cabinet are beginning to lose confidence in it, and each important division that takes place shows a diminution in its majority. With these contingencies and differences spread out before the two old parties it seems to us that we shall have an opportunity of exposing these weaknesses, gaining advantage and influence thereby.

I notice as I write that the steel workers of the states are putting up a fight against the trusts. The news that comes across in connection with matters of that character is somewhat meager, but it seems as if the men are likely to score at least a point or two against these big combines. Of course, I found in America that there was a difference of opinion among the Socialists as to whether the trusts should be allowed to grow and develop, or whether they ought to be attacked. In the case of a strike, as in the present circumstances, it seems to me that Socialists should have no hesitation in taking up the side of the workers. It gives a splendid opportunity to the propagandists of illustrating the absolute absurdity of the whole capitalistic principle which is based upon private enterprise. If this has not been taken sufficient advantage of in days gone by in the States it is not, in my opinion, too late to begin.

There is at present a general outcry in this country from a large section of the property owners that if we do not resort to more rapid methods of producing wealth we will be entirely beaten out of the field even in our own markets. I find that this general craze among sections of the people is welding closer the bonds of sympathy and united effort between the extreme and the more moderate wings of the trade union movement, as this craze threatens the possibility of that systematic method of driving which is so common in America. The British Socialist sections are getting into terms of very close relationship with the advanced movements in different parts of the European continent, with the result that an international committee is now in existence for the purpose of making all preliminary arrangements for the next international congress. There were two sections from America at the last International, and their differences, in addition to those of the French people, were somewhat painful to the neutral and unbiased delegates. We are hoping that by the next international congress the movement in America will show a form of solidification which has not been the case up to now. There is still room for more harmony and less jealousy, even here in our British movement, but I am glad to say that the latter element is disappearing. Just in accordance with the setting aside of our own personal fads and animosities so will our principles, national and international, succeed in obtaining the confidence of the wage earners of every land.

July 19, 1901.

Pete Curran.

The Labor Movement and Socialism in Japan



THE labor movement, as such, is a very recent thing in Japan. There have been some solitary cases of labor strikes in the past. In fact, we had one big strike at Kagoshima in the government workshop as far back as in 1873, when some six hundred iron workers struck for higher wages and won a complete victory after three days' strike. We can find some instances of strike and labor troubles from time to time, but there has never existed any labor organization that is worthy of notice. There were some forms of guilds or craft organizations of men, among every class of working men in the past, such as carpenters, masons, sawyers, and so on. But they were working men of old Japan and had well established wages and customs; in fact, they were well satisfied with existing conditions of society. Thus there was no labor movement in the modern sense.

After the late Chino-Japan war, industry was in full swing everywhere, and labor was in great demand. The so-called factory system was springing up rapidly, so that there appeared a class of employers and working people in Japan. Classes thus appeared for the first time. Thus in the year 1896 we witnessed many strikes and labor disputes between employers and employes.

The present writer was then just back from the United States, and seeing the necessity of taking up the cause of labor and directing the attention of working classes to it, started a social settlement in the city of Tokyo in the early part of 1897. Since then he has been engaged in the labor movement, and has been working for the cause of labor.

In the summer of the same year a few persons, most of whom had been in the United States, organized an association for the purpose of waking up the working people to see the pressing necessity for organizing themselves into trades unions. This movement was taken up by the working classes and in two or three months there were some two thousand working men in the association, eager to organize themselves into a union. In December of the same year there was organized a union by the iron molders, numbering some fifteen hundred members. This union since then has been growing into a strong one, and has promoted many new movements, such as the co-operative stores and factories, and working men's clubs.

The iron workers' union now has a building for its headquarters in the very center of the City of Tokyo and forty-one branches throughout the country.

With the birth of the iron workers' union a labor organ called "Labor World" was born. This little bi-monthly, edited by the present writer has done much work in promoting the interests of labor and has served well as the sole organ of Japanese laborers. The "Labor World" has been preaching socialism to the working people, and has taught them how to organize labor unions and co-operative distributive stores according to the Rochdale plan. The work of the "Labor World" in the last five years has been fully appreciated by the working classes, and just now the paper has started a move to become a daily by getting one year's subscription from 3,000 working men.

This scheme has been recognized as good, and many answers have been received.

In the year 1898 when the iron workers' union was fairly well founded there was a big strike by the railway engineers of the Japan Railway Company—the biggest private company in Japan. Some 800 engineers and firemen of the Japan Railway struck for better treatment and after three days they won a glorious victory. After this extraordinary success they organized themselves into a permanent union which has been growing ever since its organization and has obtained from the company many advantages. They can command the company in respect to the employing of a new engineer or fireman, and, moreover, if the union should vote to exclude a member for some ill conduct or violation of the union regulation, the company must dismiss the excluded employe. So in the case of employing a new man, the company cannot employe him if the union has an objection to him. The union has a large strike fund, so that it can declare a strike at any time and keep on strike for two or three months. The union, moreover, takes an advanced position on the labor question. The union has, among other progressive propaganda, a resolution to the effect that "this union should study and act on all the problems of labor, having socialism as their ultimate goal." Thus this union has taken a firm and progressive position, and will push its well begun work in the near future.

Another labor union that has been struggling with difficulties for its existence for the last two or three years, is that of the printers. The printers' union was organized three years ago and for some time made a steady growth, but by tactical opposition from the employers' union it was crumbled down almost to its death point, in spite of its able President Hon. Sabaro Shimada. To-day, however, this union has become a small, but strong one, and edits its organ, called "True Friend." It has now a bright future.

There are other unions that are more or less influential and doing profitable work for their members.

At least two co-operative unions now exist in our country. The one is organized by the iron molders and the other by ship car-

penters. The former has some 700 members and a co-operative productive iron works in the City of Tokyo and the latter has its ship building yard at Kanagawa, near Yokohama. Both are yet very small, but are started solely by working people and carried on successfully by themselves.

The co-operative distributive stores have been established by working men in different parts of the country, and as was mentioned already, the "Labor World" has exerted much of its intelligent influence upon the movement, as it was the first preacher of the plan.

We have a ship carpenters' union in Tokyo and Yokohama and also a dockers' union. All of them are doing good work for the cause of labor.

As to the cause of socialism, it is impossible to give a full account here. The present writer has been preaching socialism, through the "Labor World," ever since his return from America, so that the labor movement has been carried on in the true spirit of socialism. There are many avowed socialists among working men now. That resolution voted unanimous by the railway engineers' union for socialism shows our working men are quick to take up new ideas and act according to them.

Just now socialism is much talked of in Japan. This was caused by the formation of the Social Democratic Party, which took place on the 20th of June, though it was instantly suppressed by the government, and the newspapers that published the manifesto of the Social Democratic Party were confiscated as breaking peace and order. But the idea of socialism quickly came into the front and it is now much discussed by the papers and in public meetings. The trials for printing the manifesto and platform of the Social Democratic Party was much talked of and the judicial decision was waited for. This came on the 26th ult., and the decision on the case was given on the fifth inst., as not guilty. The present writer was tried for being the responsible editor of the "Labor World."

There is an association called the Association of Social Politics. This is largely supported by men of the Imperial University and advocates Bismarckian state socialism and opposes socialism in the most ridiculous manner. They are really capitalist slaves, or rather prostitutes, who do not respect truth, but twist it so as to suit their selfish end and they have no influence among the working people at all.

There are two or three daily papers in the City of Tokyo that have been advocating socialism. They are Yoroku, Viroku and Mainichi. All are influential papers and consequently they contribute a great deal toward the cause of socialism.

Thus the labor movement in Japan has been making a steady progress. The suppression of the Social Democratic Party turned out the best means of waking up the people and the Socialist As-

sociation which has been existant for three years has lately taken up the work and there is every hope of increase. Working people at large are much in sympathy with socialism and so our labor movement will go hand in hand with socialism. Japan will soon become a center of socialistic movement in the far east and the people, especially the working classes are ready for it.

Sen Joseph Katayama.

Trade Unionism in America To-day

N spite of the defeats and setbacks the Trades Unions of the world seem to have had during late years, they have made great progress. The success or victories of a union should always be measured by the amount and kind of resistance the opposing forces hurl against the organization. A victory won a few years ago, by union labor, before the modern capitalist courts, hurled their injunctions at the strikers, or the advent of the trust and syndicate, might in itself be a clear victory, a win-out on all points, where to-day in closing up, declaring off, or arbitrating, a dispute, only one or two points may be gained. Considering the odds against a union, as compared with a few years ago, the victory is greater to-day. We must not lose sight of the vast changes in our industrial system, which is largely in favor of the employing class. This fact should influence the workers to organize, as there is no possible chance now of gaining the slightest concessions without a powerful, well disciplined, and financed union. It is not enough that it should be national, but must be international, of the broadest kind, to be effective and keep pace with the changes that are taking place in our workshops and factories.

The engineers and machinists lockout in Great Britain in 1897, was a defeat for the eight-hour day at that time, but a victory for trades unionism, as it taught one of the most powerful unions in the world, that even with a large amount of financial backing from outside sources, they were not all-powerful. Still the employers did not destroy the union in defeat, but recognized, and entered into an agreement with them on a national scale, something they had never done before, and the lot of the machinist is better to-day, both as to conditions and wages, than it has ever been in fifty years. Even a defeated union that stands together, is a power for good to its membership.

The Danish engineers and smiths, a similar organization to the above, after a fourteen weeks' struggle against the employers' combination, carried every point. This was due to the large number of daily papers they controlled, their power over the banking institutions, and their intelligent use of the ballot, standing together, and voting for men and measures in the interest of the workers as a class.

The machinists of this country have just passed through a struggle, for the establishment of a nine-hour day, which has not been an entire success. But taking the odds that were against them, and viewed from the stand taken at the commencement of

this article, they have gained a victory. At the commencement of the struggle, all kinds of reports were circulated as coming from the officials. If true, it showed that they were trying to deceive their own membership, the public, and the employers, as to the strength of the organization, its financial standing, and real support guaranteed. I hope for the good name of organized labor, that no one in authority made any of the following statements:

"The American Federation of Labor will assess 2,000,000 members."

"We have money to burn."

"We will stop every wheel in the country."

"The Employers Federation is a bluff."

"Ninety per cent of the machinists in the country are in the union."

"There are 150,000 machinists out."

"We are paying every man on strike."

"We are winning all along the line."

"Seventy-five per cent of the shops in the country have signed agreements with us."

If these things were said by officials, it proves one of two things; they either knew no better, or wished to deceive.

In either case it would disqualify them from acting for any honest business house, and should for a trade union, that wanted to hold its reputation above reproach. Still when we think of the meagre support the men received, that hundreds had just joined the union, and hundreds were not in the union, it proves that the workers are becoming more conscious of the necessity of acting as a unit, and whatever may be the immediate result, good will result from this struggle, which means progress, and will eventually mean international amalgamation along craft lines. So that, when the employers in America, or any other country, will not treat with their employes in a civilized manner, the machinery of a great world's amalgamation could be set in motion, and the product of the trust reached wherever disposed of. Unions to be effective to-day must be on the same basis as the trusts, able to stop the wheels of industry all over the world. This the thinking portion of the membership are beginning to realize.

But it is when we examine the political side of this question, that we find that progress is marked and distinct. Unions that six or eight years ago, would not allow political discussions, to-day provide for them. The writer remembers a few years ago, when acting as secretary of the Board of Control for the Cleveland Citizen, labor paper, being ordered by that body, to inform the editor to stop writing Socialist articles in that paper, as they were obnoxious to the unions, and detrimental to the interests of the paper. I have no doubt but that they were at that time, but, thanks to the good sense of all concerned, a vast change has taken place now. The Central Labor Union of Cleveland, O., the own-

ers of the Citizen, was the first city central body to incorporate in their demands the collective ownership plank. Since that time, fifteen city central bodies have adopted their constitution almost as a whole, the Central Federated Union of New York being one of them. Five years ago this body would not allow a Socialist to address them; to-day a Socialist speaker is listened to, and treated with all the respect they could expect from any audience, or delegated body of union men. Job Harriman, candidate for vice-president on the Social-Democratic ticket in 1900, has been indorsed as labor secretary by this body, and will have charge of all legal matters connected with the body. On the 21st of July, in passing resolutions condemning the action of the courts and the steel trust, the resolutions closed with, "We earnestly request all workers to stand together at the ballot box for the overthrow of a system that makes such outrages a possibility." Four years ago this would not have been tolerated. On the above date it was carried without a dissenting vote.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers and Machinists have just closed a thirty-six days' convention in Manchester, England, where the delegates changed the constitution, so that local branches can assess themselves for political purposes. The executive officers can run for political offices, the funds can only be used for *bona fide* labor men, on a labor ticket and platform. The officials, to hold their positions, must stand with, for and by labor. Ten years ago this could not have taken place, but the eight-hour struggle has been fought, the machine introduced, and many more things that compel men to think and act.

There is a very large number of cigar makers, local unions, in America, where a Socialist speaker is always welcome, notably Philadelphia, Pa. Others could be named, if necessary. The printers locals are very progressive, notably Cleveland, O., and Philadelphia, Pa., with many other unions. During the last two years the writer has addressed a large number of union meetings in their halls, and a large number of labor meetings on the street. That portion of an address that seems to be paid most attention to is that pertaining to collective ownership, or the coming co-operative commonwealth. The trusts being owned by and for all the people. A large number of the workers are reading and thinking along these lines, and will act as soon as they have some assurance that they can, without being deprived of the means to support their families. It is a duty that every Socialist owes to himself or herself, and the movement, if eligible to join the union of their craft not to proselyte nor tear down, but to assist in building up the economic organization, and through reason, and facts there presented, guide the workers into the right political alliance, for the overthrow of the capitalist system. If half the time, that has been spent in denouncing, had been used for instruction, the

movement would have been in much better condition to-day. This time needs to be used inside the unions, teaching right principles, instead of making accusations without any proofs for them. If we neglect the thinking portion of the workers, we need not expect to gain very much by arraigning the non-thinking portion against them, as the thinking portion, as a rule, are those who are members of organized labor. Let us have this organized power use itself for the overthrow of a system that holds them in slavery. This can best be accomplished by the Socialist, assisting the unions in every fight against the capitalist masters.

I. Cowen.

The Social Spirit of the N. E. A.

HE National Educational Association held its last annual session at Detroit, during the early part of the present month. There was an attendance of eight thousand. It included representatives of all departments of education, public and private, from the Kindergarten to the University. In signs of social progress it was more fertile than any other convention, religious, political or reform, that the writer has ever attended. A few of these signs are worthy of careful consideration by all who seek for a solution of the social problem.

The most serious obstruction which any new movement based upon fundamentals has to encounter is the conspiracy of silence. All great conventions representing the present social order, whether political, religious, educational or commercial, have heretofore sternly refused to acknowledge the existence of the one great social problem in the solution of which the socialist contends, all questions pertaining to the social order will find their answer. Like the terrible crowd in Beckford's Hall of Eblis, they have stood, each with his hand pressed on the incurable sore in his bosom, and pledged not to speak of it. Not so with this N. E. A. convention. The silence was broken, forcefully and often. Not without much fear and trembling, however, and with something of the intensity of Hamlet when he exclaimed:

"Be thou spirit of health or goblin damned?
Let me not burst in ignorance; but tell,
Why is this? wherefore? what should we do?"

No figure will as well express the influence thus manifested as "spirit," for it pervaded the whole convention, the program for which evidently provided carefully for shutting the door on it, or if perchance it should enter not by, but through the door, for a prudent exorcism.

The first movement of the spirit was felt at the meeting of the Educational Council, composed entirely of scholastic Nestors, and dubbed the "Sanhedrin" of the N. E. A., when Prof. Brown, of the University of California, in an address on educational progress of the year admitted that at Stanford University and at some other institutions academic freedom had been sacrificed on the altar of private endowment, and that the Aladdin treasures that had fallen into the laps of various favored institutions during the year were not unanimously considered an unmixed good.

Its second gratuitous engagement was given on the same

stage on the following day, when the committee of twelve headed by President Harper of Chicago University reported unanimously against the establishment of a National University at Washington. After President Baker of the University of Colorado had illustrated the maxim that "mountaineers are always freemen," by showing that opposition to the National University was chiefly due to the fact that it would not be as easily subjected to capitalistic control as the privately endowed university, it asserted itself sufficiently to cause the council to reject the report by a vote of about two to one.

Its third appearance occurred on the third day, in the Department of Higher Education, when President Jesse, of the University of Missouri, in discussing the functions of the university declared it to be one of its chief functions to help the people to solve their social problems.

Dr. Canfield, of New York, opened the discussion on this paper by expressing the hope that the university, which was still wearing the cap and gown inherited from the middle ages, was preparing to lay them aside for an attack of its real tasks in shirt sleeves.

At this point a member of the department, by way of comparison as to the definiteness and thoroughness of the work of the universities in the line of sociological instruction, referred to George Eliot's Mr. Ripley's accomplishments in Latin, the peculiarity of which was that he had a good knowledge of Latin in general, but no knowledge of any particular Latin. He also asked Dr. Jesse to what extent the universities were fulfilling this function, and if they were delinquent, what action could be taken by the body then in session toward remedying this delinquency. Dr. Jesse replied that nothing practical was being done and that he did not think that anything could be done at present to remedy the delinquency. He said further that he had presented this function of the university simply as an ideal, and that it was usually a long time after an ideal is presented before anything can be done toward the realization of it.

This episode received a double column report in one of the leading Detroit papers and about the same time interviews with several of the leading college and university presidents were published bearing on the subject of academic freedom. In every case it was claimed that there was no interference by endowment donors, but the reason for this order that "reigns in Warsaw" was clearly stated in the above reply of Dr. Jesse.

The time had now arrived for the book and bell to come to the help of the cap and gown.

The first medieval functionary to thus officiate was George Gunton, president of the Institute of Social Economics, New York, and the editor of Gunton's Magazine. He urged the

teaching of economics even in the primary schools for the purpose of preventing the people from being led away after economic vagaries by ignorant demagogues who, though often honest and well-meaning, had never been taught the true theories of economics as given in Gunton's Magazine.

A member of the convention asked Mr. Gunton privately, without disclosing his own point of view, whether the purpose of the teaching of economics should not be to facilitate economic changes incident to social evolution with as little loss of social energy as possible, rather than to resist such changes. "That is my theory exactly," said Mr. Gunton. "A great economic change has come (referring to the trusts), and there is a spirit of rebellion and revolution against it. Economics should be taught in such manner as to allay this rebellious spirit." It is stated on good authority that Gunton's Magazine is endowed by the Standard Oil Company. Nothing in Mr. Gunton's attitude toward the social problem is inconsistent with such a situation.

The next attempt at exorcism was made by President Thwing, of Western Reserve University. He declared that the trusts had come to stay a long time; that their sudden dissolution would be a great national disaster. That such a catastrophe could be prevented by men with the best possible mental training being found to manage them (in the interest of capital, of course), and the most urgent function of the university, in the "democracy prosperous" was to turn out men of this kind for this purpose.

The most important sociological fact, however, in connection with this convention was the utter chaos in which the entire school system of the nation finds itself. This became painfully apparent when President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, made his already famous address on the "Ideal School." He boldly declared that the entire school system as now conducted is at war with the nature of the child, the youth, and the adult, physical, mental and moral. He based his indictment upon scientific demonstrations, biological and psychological, declaring that the now well established doctrine of evolution and the universally accepted new psychology demanded a new educational system. He contended that the ideal school, which, as yet, like More's vision of a new social order, existed nowhere, conducted according to the known and established science of life, would produce ideal men and women.

When the time came for general discussion, not one of the pedagogical Goliaths present dared to offer a criticism. Dr. Hall expressed great disappointment and bewilderment. In former conventions he had presented similar views, though less positively, and had aroused storms of opposition. Whence the

change? Such giants of the school as Dr. W. F. Harris, U. S. Commissioner of Education; Col. F. W. Parker and Prof. J. W. Cook were by urgent solicitation called out to discuss the subject. They refused to criticise the address and the last two declared that they were all at sea. They admitted that present methods that have been heretofore considered very progressive and up-to-date do not conform to the latest bulletins from the biological and psychological laboratories. But what would the practical work-a-day world, that doesn't know what a laboratory is, say about a change in the school system intended to produce ideal men and women?

The same spirit of doubt and uncertainty as to methods of teaching and general school management pervaded the entire convention and all of its sixteen departments.

For one who looks at the educational problem from the standpoint of the socialist, the cause of this pedagogical perturbation and educational quandary is not far to seek.

Reaumer sums up the effect of the philosophy of Pestalozzi by saying: "He compelled the scholastic world to revise their entire task; to meditate upon the nature and destiny of man, and the proper means of leading him from his youth toward that destiny." Only to a limited extent, however, was the Pestalozzian philosophy adopted in Europe. Germany adopted it in part, and to this fact more than to any other is due the strong socialistic sentiment in that country, which puts more socialists in the reichstag than any other of the political factions contending for control of the government. This philosophy, although advocated by Horace Mann, has never until recent years received even a partial recognition. The first element of this philosophy is now passively accepted, but little practical application of it is being made to the school methods. Dr. Hall's paper strongly insisted upon the recognition of the nature of man as the basis of all educational effort, but had little to say about his destiny or the proper means of leading him toward it. This is where the difficulty arises. The ideal school is intended to develop the ideal man. The ideal man can not possibly fit comfortably into an unideal world. The ideal school on any large scale is impossible until society approaches more nearly to the ideal. The men who pay the money to support the school do not want students turned out of the schools with large sympathies, quick consciences and high ideals. They demand men who can run machinery, keep books and make dividends. The only way the ideal school can ever come on any large scale is for those who comprehend the meaning of the ideal school to send their pupils out into the unideal world not to fit but to fight; to contend for the same ideals in political, social, industrial and commercial life as are held up in the ideal school. To enable them to do this

effectively they must be made to understand while in the school that the social order into which they must enter from the school is unideal, and must be instructed as to the means and methods for changing it in the direction of the ideal. Such a course at once brings the teacher into serious conflict with the established order. Few are yet willing to pay the price. The new biology and psychology call for the new sociology. To accept the former in any practical manner and reject the latter leads to failure. The new biology and psychology have come to stay. They have been accepted by the leading educators without due consideration as to where they would lead. They have led to an educational crisis. They must either be abandoned or the new sociology must be accepted by the scholastic world. This makes the educational field the most hopeful arena into which the socialist can enter for conquest.

Emerson says, "The world is full of judgment days." An important one for the educational world is at hand.

"Some great truth God's new Messiah
Offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand
And the sheep upon the right."

The new Messiah is the new sociology and it has come to bring redemption to our educational system, and a redeemed education will greatly hasten the redemption of the whole social order.

Ruskin College, Trenton, Mo.

George McA. Miller.

Idealism and Industry



N response to your request that I should contribute something to your pages, I prefer not to touch directly upon the work of the guild or handicraft for the organization of which I am primarily responsible, but some reflections upon the movement of English decorative art and the deeper questions involved in its consideration may not be unacceptable. The question how far the results some of us in our work in England have attained or the conclusions we have arrived at may have a larger bearing upon communal life: the question of the influence of the work a man does upon his life and his value as a citizen, the question of influence of his surroundings and his education upon his productive power; questions, in short, of idealism considered as an asset in industry, and the question as to whether the socialistic aspirations—I use the word in the widest sense—that make the backbone of working class movements, do or do not supply those higher wants which the artist and the educator deem essential to the fuller living of life.

The average English workman is a materialist; his first and constant concern is to overcome the practical difficulties of existence, to increase his wages. He has a few conventional, somewhat middle-class standards, of right and wrong, and he is untroubled by religious questions; he has in him an innate love of discipline and combination, he is level headed, practical, selfish and conservative. But he has another side to him also—he is also an idealist—the blend may seem a strange one, but it exists, and this side of him finds expression in a theoretical socialism. The abstract formulae, however, of the socialism he professes have but a slender direct bearing upon the life he leads, and they touch even the problems of his labor organization but incidentally; he cons these formulae over daily in his halfpenny paper, much as the mediaeval workman said his Aves and Paternosters, but they remain to him unreal, phantasmal, insubstantial. The soul that is form, in the words of Spenser, does not in this instance make the body, it breeds only more of itself, and to that extent the body remains starved, unmade, nay, even marred.

This putting of the form and the substance of life into two separate compartments is wasteful. Wasteful to the individual in the first place, for it lessens his interest in realities—in the art of life; wasteful to the community, for it deprives life of that stimulus and enjoyment that go to its higher national fulfilling. Nay, more than this, it is dangerous. But we shut our eyes to this danger and think for the most part as others have

done before that the rightness of a system is justified by its existence.

There is no reason to believe, there certainly appears no analogy from the physical world to prove, that there is wisdom in thus keeping the creative and the material portions of human nature, the form and the matter, in two air-tight compartments. It is like continuously drawing off the gases from a substance in itself life-giving which thus disintegrated grows to be on the one hand an inert mass, on the other a high explosive. Would any one who has practically and thoughtfully studied the conditions of life, physical and intellectual, of an English industrial center, for a moment deny that the danger exists or that the analogy is far fetched? It requires but the igniting spark—the pinch of hunger, for instance, resulting from an unsuccessful war—and all this idealism, so beneficent in itself, so productive if rightly applied towards a national purpose, may blow the whole social fabric to pieces.

And the right application? Even as we have drawn our analogy of the division of the idealistic and materialistic forces in the community from the typical workman as he daily comes before us, so the individual here again stands us in stead. Train up your young artisan to enjoy his work, to appreciate his life through his work, to realize his work as his own and not another man's, and he will be less interested in the socialistic formulae of his evening newspaper; he will become not only a happier person but a less selfish and visionary person, and his use to the community will be doubled. I have proved this in individual cases to my own satisfaction, not once but a dozen times, and yet the truth that a man's efficiency is increased if his idealism can be brought to direct it, is a truth hardly proclaimed nowadays and certainly not acted upon.

The application is indeed often evident enough. With the average commercial man it is an axiom that one of the great benefits of national excitement or enterprise—war for instance—is that it “pulls the nation together”; it may do the reverse, but the underlying truth in the dictum is that the contemplation of war, through the halfpenny paper or otherwise, supplies the element of idealism with which I am concerned. The commercial man forgets, however, that there are other things that do this equally well, and that it is owing to the meanness and dullness of the existing social system that this same idealism as an effective force is proscribed to us. Our object, then, should be to remove this proscription, to find other channels in which to direct what we would fain not lose, and one of the best may perhaps be found in the decorative arts. In the application to life which they bring of the searching force that sees in the joy of the producer its standard of excellence and beauty; that asks of everything it comes across, is it worth the labor that has been put into it? Has it been created in joy?

What useful purpose does it serve? To what end is it there? The force that weighs productive and unproductive work in a new balance—and not the balance of the political economist—the force that calls for the color and the joy of life, and that discerns in the greater productiveness of the individual the greater productiveness also of the whole community.

It was often urged against John Ruskin that he said foolish things about the power that rules modern industry—the machine. Those of us who have sought to apply the inspiration of his teaching to practical ends are deterred neither by the things he said, nor the criticisms men have passed upon them. We find a truth in the husk of rhetoric, and how great this truth any direct labor in the industrial arts reveals. To us it is evident that the mountain of mechanical production has to be scaled, or perhaps tunneled scientifically. To ignore it is impossible. To this end we do not reject the machine, we welcome it. But we desire to see it mastered in industry, and not as it is at present, to remain the master. We find when we look back to the ages from which we draw our models of excellence in production—excellent because they were created in the joy of the producer—that there was another force behind that made it possible for the producer to live the life he did. In ancient Greece it was the slave, in the middle ages it was the serf. What we plead for is that the machine shall be so directed, so guided, that it shall do for the community what the serf in one age, the slave in another, did before. Little by little this is getting to be understood, only it may be for those that make a practical study of the details of industrial art to say how far the machine should be called in to help or forbidden to hinder. When we look at the question from this point of view we see how great it becomes, how it spreads into the whole framework of society; we see what is really involved in the phrase about which there is nowadays so much cant—ethics in art.

It is here, at the point where the replanning and the building up of the new order out of the old begins, that many of us join issue with the socialism of William Morris on the one hand and the driving energy of modern commercialism on the other. The social revolution or the war may be needful enough in their place; for our part we may be right or wrong in turning from either as a solution of economic problems, but we ask to be allowed, like Thoreau's artist in the City of Kouroo, to carve our stick in peace, to reject what will not suit us from out of the large heap of undesirable stock that is offered for our choosing. We find ourselves at the parting of the roads, we see that revolutionary or destructive socialism does not help us, and that the distinction between what is constructive and what is destructive is once and for all emphasized for us by the application of English industrial art.

C. R. Ashbee.

The Socialist Convert



TRUCK down by brute Wealth's greed, relentless, fell;
Numb'd factory Slave to wheel insatiate,
With future, dark and dread, implacable.

His pain slow permeates his soul, transforms,
Wakes it to life, so tender, pitiful,—
That grief of Proletaire in sweat-shop, mine,
Lives with him near unsleeping; silent woe
Of locked-out men, lone starving, beds with him;
And misery of close-packed, sunless holes
Of bloodless poor, black shame! casts pall on earth,
On sky, so beautiful. Most sore bestead,—
Like stag at bay, he stands, resilient, fierce,—
Then quests fierce, wide, the darkness stygian.

And soon on street, in hall, he hears a voice,
Despised, and exiled, prisoned, martyred lone,—
Yet thrilled with radiant hope, and wondrous light.
Again the voice beseeching, burning fire,
Descries him 'mid the crowd with yearning face,—
Enthrall'd, and almost convert. Then three priests,
Puissant, kingly, find him reading tense
Their scrolls, new Bibles, blazing light for souls.

Lassalle, the brilliant, fiery priest!
Who smote the scholar, statesman, hip and thigh,—
Who greatly roused the Proletaire to life,
Insurgent, earnest, thrilled with mission high,—
Of batt'ring down the venal World Bourgeois,
And building up the Comrade World to be.

And sad Savonarola of to-day,
Sorrowing sore o'er Trade's apostasy!
Rich heart exhaling love of brotherhood!
Great light to them, who yet in blindness sit!
Strong prophet shod with fire, in darkness dense
Announcing bold: Production, commune with God,
And Distribution, human fellowship.

Unweary Titan, scholar, exile lone!
Vast searcher deep of proletarian woe!
X-raying keen in book profound, revered,
The Bourgeoisie exploiting deep his toil;
Loud crying in World Manifesto dread:
Ye starved Proletaire! unite! unite!
Break down! break down! strong binder of your chains!

And now with brain alight, redeemed, inspired,
Regenerate,—hierophant full sworn,—
He goes, not counting cost, despising shame,
Converting souls to World-wide Cause sublime.

O World Bourgeois! titanic! savage! doomed!
O Comrade World! titanic! Godlike! crowned!

Oakland, Cal., June, 1901.

Frederick Irons Bamford.

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER XII.

AS THE street cars were running only at long intervals when Julian and his companion started up the street that led to Elisabeth's home, they followed the dark, silent avenue on foot, Julian tramping along in such haste that he hardly felt the earth beneath his nervous feet, and Elisabeth walking breathlessly to keep up with him. Julian's mental image of himself was that of a heavily shrouded figure fleeing from an accusing finger, with head bowed, and face concealed by a monk's cowl. But Elisabeth saw him only as a kind of sun-god, radiating light and happiness in all directions.

When they reached the ugly brick dwelling which could be distinguished from its comrades in the long row only by its number—even the blinds were exactly alike—Julian was surprised as he looked at his watch to discover the lateness of the hour. They rang the bell and waited; they rang repeatedly and waited with the same result. Nobody came.

Elisabeth had no key; the shutters were closed tightly, the house was silent as though deserted. Each time that Julian pulled the bell, they could hear its noisy reverberations inside. "It ought to awaken somebody," he observed absently.

"I guess she's awake," said Elisabeth, in her curiously suppressed young voice, "but she doesn't like to have to wait on *me*; she doesn't like my going out so many nights; it leaves her all the children to put to bed. She said charity girls didn't go to theatres and operas." Elisabeth's voice was becoming a little more expressive in the darkness. Julian could barely see the resolute young profile and the shining of the great dark eyes under the brim of her hat.

"Don't wait," she cried impatiently waving her hand, "she'll open the door when she gets ready. I hear her coming—Good night, Mr. Endicott, I thank you very much—Good night!"

Julian was looking down the street. His eyes were fixed in astonishment on a female figure standing at the street corner in the glare of an electric light. With his eyes on this figure, he retreated from the steps, his careless ears hearing only Elisabeth's "Good night" and her light, upward step into the recess of the door. He supposed that she had entered the house.

Calling out a hasty "Good night" he tore rapidly away in the direction of the female figure which stood forth radiantly, as if lighted by a hundred footlights. A dainty blue gown that was only partly concealed by a long black cloak lined with fur, recalled the general appearance of Marian Starling at the opera; this effect was heightened by yellow curls, exceedingly pink cheeks and a pair of distinctly penciled eyebrows—all (from a distance) being suggestive of Marian standing with a lace scarf drawn over her curls and under her chin in an attitude of timid expectation.

Julian did not discover that the face was not Marian's until he reached the young woman's side. He had again hastily assumed that Marian needed his help, and with beating heart he had rushed to her aid only to find himself peering into the face of a stranger.

"Pardon me," he murmured, turning away in sickening disappointment and marveling that a combination of strangely colored hair, red cheeks and black eyebrows could have suggested the ethereal beauty of Marian Starling—even at the distance of half a block. His next feeling was one of partial relief, and then of shame that an uncontrollable impulse should have brought him so abruptly to the side of this stranger.

"A thousand pardons for my mistake," he repeated turning again and bowing low as he moved away. "I mistook you for some one else."

"I *am* some one else—so I am perhaps just the one you are looking for!" the stranger replied with a smile and an arch expression which faintly recalling Marian, caused Julian to look at her more intently. He now saw that her yellow hair was artificially colored and her cheeks heavily rouged. It needed no great discernment to classify this young person. He regarded her gravely.

"You were waiting here to speak to me? Are you not afraid—of the police?"

"Not when they're well paid, my good sir—but it's a shame that I have to pay so much, isn't it?"

"Ah—this is our boasted civilization! To what depths are we descending!" cried Julian with deep feeling.

"Come and see!" replied the young woman laughing and extending her hand. "Come and see the depths! You can't moralize without experience in this world, my young gentleman. Come with me to a hall over yonder where we can order iced champagne, and enjoy the most beautiful experiences in dancing, and after that—you can present me with a Bible if you want to."

"I have already had all the experiences I want, thanks—and I have no Bibles in my pocket."

"You might find a chance to pray for me—"

"Are there not some who are doing that for you already, my poor girl? And with what results!"

The young woman drew herself up and looked at him curiously.

"Now, if you are not a parson, what are you?"

"It doesn't matter what, I hope I'm enough of a friend to see you home, and safe away from music halls for one night in your life."

"Home—home!" repeated the young woman with a burst of shrill laughter, "if you're a-goin' to take me *home* we'll have to board a train and travel together two days and a night—and I won't be admitted when I get there!"

"Ah! That is the sad part of it—that is what makes it so difficult—so impossible!" murmured Julian in deep dejection. They were now walking side by side, but slowly. The young woman stole a side glance at him.

"Do you mean you would like to reform a girl like me—in real earnest—you really would?" she asked in a penetrating, breathless whisper.

"I should like to believe it a part of my vocation—if I could only see the way—a little way ahead."

"I guess it does look awful dark and muddy," she said with a forced laugh. "An' you're not like the 'Social Liberty Leaguers' for they see the whole d—d road ahead, and they ain't afraid even of undertaking *me*—and all like me! I hope some day they'll have a chance to try something, don't you?"

"I haven't given their schemes much thought," Julian answered, surprised and disconcerted by such a question. "I did not know they had invented any special panacea for a case like yours."

"You're really settin' out to be a reformer?" she questioned him with a curious eagerness.

He continued to explain. "I have not had time to study any Utopian schemes; my work has been of the most practical kind; organized relief and rescue work does not leave one much time for idle dreaming."

"So, you're a worker in charity—by the side of them high-step-pin' charity ladies pickin' their way thro' the mud! Course, you think charity's good enough for the poor 'stead o' justice—course you do!"

"I do not," replied Julian sternly. "Every day I grow more dissatisfied—but what else can one do?"

"What does charity offer to girls like me? The rich *play* with the business of elevatin' the poor; they build reformatories for us poor girls, and when we come out we're worse than when we went in. I know all about your charities. You need not offer to put me in any of their holes—where you're herded together and

branded as outcasts—a lot of rats in a trap! I've been in them—I know, I know!"

"What would your Liberty League advise?" asked Julian forlornly; he seemed to feel the hypocritical guilt of all these reformatory palliatives weighing heavily upon him.

"Oh, I can't tell you—I can't remember their talk—I just happened in onc't—twic't to their meetin's," the girl answered, twisting her fingers together absently, "but it was beautiful! Oh, my, but you ought to hear them! They made me *feel good*—an' innocent—all the time I sat there—more'n I ever did in church, I can tell you! They kinder explained that it warn't all my fault, but it was the fault of everybody—everybody else—an' specially the rich folks. It's the fault of society—that's what they said."

"That's what they all say, my good girl—there's nothing new in *that*! It's a figure of speech, nothing more." His tone was dull with disappointment. Had he really expected this poor creature to unfold a splendid vision of a new social order?

"But them folks meant what they said," she persisted, "an' the way they had it fixed was that there wasn't to be any rich people or any poor people any more, but everybody would go to work and get good pay and be sure of it—an', there wouldn't be any idle rich fellows lyin' 'round lookin' for us poor girls to be ruined with their money—for all the rich and poor is to be a-workin' together—side by side—an' not too hard work either, but divided up even betwixt 'em—like as if they were all in the pay of the government."

Julian laughed dismally. "It would have to be a very good government, I guess, and a pretty brave one to undertake such a contract as that. I guess this administration hasn't got it on its program. In the meantime, what are you going to do? Why are you still here—on the streets—living this life? How can you stay here, if you have any desire to lead the purer, happier life your friends promise?"

"What would you have me do, sir? Who's to give me work now?" She flashed back at him in sudden passion. "If I could get married, an' be taken care of, I'd be all right. Sir, if you want to reform me, an' you a young bachelor, why don't you marry me yourself? Am I any worse at heart than some o' them fine ladies ridin' about in carriages? Some gets taken care of and perfected when they're as wild as—as wild geese—an' nobody's the wiser. Sir, if you don't believe in the League's way, why don't you try the other way—I mean the way they perfect the girls in the upper ten? Ain't all them young men banded together to perfect them foolish young girls, an' keep 'em fenced in even when they lose their silly little heads, till somebody gets ready to marry 'em and take 'em off the hands of their fathers and brothers? But who's banded together to take care of me and to perfect *me*? Them young men ain't—not much! I'm

fair game for *them*—that's all I am—just *game* to be run down and *catched!*"

"I wish I could believe you were lying," said Julian, catching his breath, "but I cannot; God knows, it's the truth."

"If you know it's the truth, why ain't you willing to save me? Ain't you a reformer? Ain't you willin' to give the poor a chance? Ah! good, *good* young man—you have it writ all over your face that you're kind and good—begin with *me*—give me a chance—a chance! What I never had in my life! I'm the worst and the lowest, I know, but what's that to you if you're tryin' to save sinners? Marry me an' take me out o' this—hell of a life—I can't get tooken out any other way—an' I will leave all my wickedness behind—you can trust me, I will!"

Large tears were rolling down her rouged cheeks, as she made this desperate appeal with both hands clasped hysterically under her chin.

Julian, feeling keenly the absurdity of the situation, turned away, and promptly turned back, remembering his vocation.

"You know it's not possible—what you propose." He strove to speak gravely and with kindness, concealing his disgust. "It's beyond the bounds of reason. Marriage is for those who love each other. Unless I could marry *all* I wanted to save, why should I marry *you*?" He thought this argument unanswerable.

"To set an example to the rest of the world!" she retorted quickly, seeing her advantage in thus having the question laid open for discussion. "You'd be a-showin' the world you believed there was *good* in me, sir—you do believe that, don't you?—a little?"

"I do—yes—I do," he observed, with a hesitation that served only to give his words the effect of deliberate conviction.

"Well then! Do you set the example, kind sir, and save *me*, and let others foller along an' save the rest—there's the way to save all us poor sinners!"

Her tone was almost triumphant, as if she believed the young man's willingness to sacrifice his career really depended on presenting to his mind these logical deductions from an altruist's public professions. And, in fact, Julian felt the weight of her logic. Her monstrous proposition assumed for the moment the form of a challenge to his sincerity. From the background of his consciousness there came again that sharp sting of shame and remorse for his neglected work, which he had been pushing along for many months without zeal or real love for humanity. Had he not become a mere machine to execute the orders of a philanthropic corporation? Was this a chance then to prove his own repentance—as well as this poor creature's?

What if he *should* consider it a "chance"? How the world would howl and shriek over the evil appearance of such a sacri-

fice! Never, of course, could it understand the motive that might prompt the deed. To live for others! This would be living for others with a vengeance. And his managers—what would they say? At the thought of them, Julian's scorn leaped to defiance. In a spirit of recklessness he might take this step, but he would never be deterred from it by the fear of what those preposterous managers might say—and did they not represent the whole conventional world to him?

He wondered what would be the amount of the sacrifice required? Where might a limit be fixed to one's self-abnegation in such a case? Suppose he should choose to do this thing, could he do it by merely arranging means for her support? Would that satisfy—redeem her?

He was standing quite close to the woman and looking down into her face. She had taken hold of his sleeve during her final appeal, but she relinquished that and was nervously patting the heavy cape of his overcoat, holding it between her palms and softly rubbing it.

"I would like to be good—that is all there is in it—I would like to be good!" she whispered in a last, desperate effort. It was like the cry of a grown-up child—an unreasoning, wild demand for everything that another human being could give. But it affected the young man powerfully—it swayed him into a grave consideration of her proposal and all its consequences. At any rate he could not leave her now.

"Let us walk a little further," he suggested. "How old are you?"

"Twenty-five," she answered, with a smile. "My name is May."

Julian decided that he had asked a foolish question, and he felt that he did not care to know her name. How could he believe anything she said? He became silent and they walked on for another block.

A revulsion of feeling began to sweep over him—a violent protest against the awful sacrifice proposed. It now filled him with horror. The insolent demand of the Anglo-Saxon—regardless of his own moral status—for absolute purity in the woman he chooses to honor or even to treat with decent respect—asserted its hold over him. He wanted to rid himself of her presence; he wanted to thrust this courtesan from his sight—anywhere—so that he might not look at her or think of her again. Instinctively and brutally, he loathed her for what she was; with all that was masculine and assertive in his nature, he loathed and despised this "woman of the town"—significantly so called, as if the town could not get along without her.

And because he did loathe her, he hung his head and concerned himself with a wonderful pretense of being deeply interested in her moral welfare. He asked her a string of questions without

looking at her, and accepted all her replies as undoubtedly false. Then he wheeled around upon her as they reached a street corner.

"It's impossible for me to do what you ask—I cannot take your view of it—but I am going to help you another way. Yes, you must let me, I want you to." He was going to do a foolish thing perhaps, to offer her money to pay for a night's lodging in some respectable shelter—he hardly knew what his plans were—but before he had time to explain them, the woman turned from him with a cry of astonishment—

"God in Heaven! What's this a-comin' after us?"

Julian turned also and saw Elisabeth's slight figure flying towards him—she was running as fast as possible to overtake him, with one hand stretched out to attract his attention. In a moment she had reached his side—panting, breathless—all but speechless.

"The door was locked—I could not get in after you left." She was desperately confused and ashamed as if the fault had been wholly hers.

Julian, horror-stricken, stood looking at her.

"I thought you were safely in-doors!" he stammered.

"I guess you'd both better make up your minds to come with me now to the music hall," said the street woman, looking from one to the other.

"I bid you good evening." Julian bowed to her with formal politeness, while he took Elisabeth's cold hand within his own. "I will find you shelter somewhere—don't worry, Elisabeth."

"So he's got the two of us on his hands!" cried the painted creature, looking hard at Elisabeth. "May be he knows more'n he looks to. Say, what's he reformed you *out of*?"

Elizabeth disengaged her hand from Julian's arm and withdrew a few paces from him. She looked steadfastly at the street woman. Her cheeks were slightly flushed, Julian noted, as he turned a surprised glance upon her, and her expression was one of rapt attention, deepening slowly into a whole-souled comprehension of what that bedizened female figure stood for in the common parlance of the world. Yes—he told himself—she understands—Elisabeth understands.

With a deepening intensity in her eyes, Elisabeth looked and looked—as tho' a veil were obscuring her sight—while the street woman pursued her ranting, loose-jointed talk. With the white electric light falling on her face, Elisabeth stood there—a contrasting image of purity beside that other female figure.

Elisabeth's eyes were full of mystery—darkness—and again full of light; now they were black with a penetrating earnestness—a *wanting to know* of the spirit; then, her brow clearing, her eyes were star-lit by some deep emotion that slowly intensified itself into a radiance of thought and feeling. She

looked at Julian, and he felt a flash of purity—reverence—a holy enthusiasm seemed to emanate from her. What was in the mind of this strange child? The voice of the street woman was still in his ears. Her naked talk seemed to fly harmlessly past Elisabeth; it did not disturb her absorbed contemplation. Still looking thus intently, she stepped closer to the woman and laid her hand on her sleeve:

"So he prefers your innocence to my experience—what's he knows about *me*, I'd like to know?" the painted creature was snarling.

"Go and sin no more—no more!" whispered Elisabeth, with tender solemnity, unconsciously using the words of the Nazarine.

"Bible talk's nothing new to me, young woman."

"I am telling you what *he* says—" looking at Julian. "He would save you if he could—if you would only let him!"

"A Salvation Army lass? I've nothing to say to you."

"Oh, I'm not that—we're neither of us anything like that!" Elisabeth had blundered into using the phraseology of a revival meeting, with which she was so drearily familiar that it had sprung to her lips unbidden. Expression was to her always a difficult task—all language being to her more or less like a foreign tongue. But she cast about with determination for more suitable phrases.

"It's your humanity that he sees—and the divine, too—the divine in the human. Oh, let me tell you! His mission is to go about among the downcast and trodden and the oppressed—and to lift them up—up into something higher! Don't you want to lead a better life? Don't you want to? He will help you—he will—he has helped me."

"Who—what are *you*?" cried the street woman derisively.

"A charity girl—that's all I am." Elisabeth spoke shyly, turning her head away and looking down. She raised her eyes to look at Julian.

"*Don't!*" he cried as if she had hurt him. "You must come with me—come, Elisabeth!"

But she went on with the same gentle enthusiasm—holding the woman's hand in both of hers.

"Do you not want a friend? He will be a friend such as you can always trust. Do you think he is like other men? He is not. He is far, far above them. He lives only for others—to do good and to save the world. Oh, how can you be so wicked, when he asks you to turn from your wickedness and live?" Again the revival of reminiscences were overpowering her limited gifts of speech but she rallied and shook herself free. "How can you lead this life, I mean, when he is ready to show you the way to a better one? Won't you come with us?"

"Where?"

Elisabeth looked at Julian. "Where?" she repeated softly, and waited his reply with calm faith.

Julian, looking at her, measured her moral height with that of the street woman, and rejoiced that the poor, bedizened wretch sank into immeasurable depths of infamy beside this sweet vision of purity. Putting his hand in his pocket, he drew out two silver dollars which he held out to the street woman.

"Where?" he repeated in an aside to Elisabeth! "How do I know where to take *her*—and you, too—Elisabeth? Good Heavens!" Then aloud to the street woman: "Please oblige me by taking this money and going to some decent place—I beg you to take it."

The street woman started back, stung to the quick. She flung the money aside with a scornful gesture.

"I can git all the money I want—thanks—guess I know where to go for it. I didn't ask you for any before *she* come, did I? You know well enough it warn't money I was after—from *you*! I took you for what you was pretendin' to me you really was—a friend o' the poor outcast, or I wouldn't a-said what I did. Now, I know you're no better than the parsons—you're just a fool reformer, stirrin' up the mud with a stick and takin' good care to git none of it on your own self." Her eyes gleamed angrily. She stepped back a pace or two and drew herself up with a semblance of dignity—nay, it was a real dignity, tho' her lip trembled like a child's and the tears falling from her lashes were streaking her painted cheeks.

"If there aint really no good in me, what's the use of your wasting your time pretendin' it is worth while to save such as me? But you don't want to save me, or any like—you think there's *got* to be girls like me—and there's *got* to be girls like her—an' there's *got* to be fine ladies to take off your hat to, 'cause, 'cause they can't do nothin' wrong if they tried. That's what you think—but it aint true! No, sir! I don't need you to tell me what I am—or her neither."

She stepped nearer, with her hand on her breast; she was speaking low and vehemently, with all the passion of real tragedy. "I know what I am, sir—just how vile I seem when I'm a-standin' aside o' *her*, but if it's the last breath I have to speak with, I'll tell you to your face, there's good in me, real good that's worth savin', though it aint you as 'll ever do it, for you'd rather be a-stirrin' up the mud with a stick than savin' sinners like me! I ain't in your line, I guess. May be the Lord's got somebody picked out to save me yet—but it won't be no fool reformer. You kin go your ways, sir; an' I'll go mine, alone—as I'se always gone since I was fourteen, when I was took and made what I am now. Yes, sir—fourteen. Good night, to the two o' ye's."

She turned quickly away, drawing her long cloak about her

with the cheap, forlorn kind of grace that seemed to belong to her vocation. In a moment she had vanished around the corner. Julian started after her, and then checking the impulse, he returned slowly to Elisabeth's side.

"She has gone!" he murmured, in a tone of intense relief; "there's nothing for us to do but to go on our way; let us hurry, Elisabeth."

"She did not want your money," whispered the young girl, as she took his arm.

"No; I was wrong to have offered it—I am a fool—*a poor, common fool reformer, stirring up the mud with a stick—ha!* She sized me up neatly, Elisabeth."

"It was because I came and interfered; 'you had the two of us on your hand,' as she said. I ought to have stayed away when I saw you with her."

"Everybody would have interfered—with *her* plan of rescue, Elisabeth—the whole world would have interfered with it! Ah! that's the trouble—the world always interferes when we try to undo a wrong—to make atonement of any kind—and then *we* interfere ourselves—our hateful inner selves spring up like snarling wolves. It seems impossible to do any real good except by the sacrifice of everything we are or have—or wish to be."

"It was not so with me," breathed Elisabeth softly, hiding her face in his overcoat sleeve. "The world did not interfere with you saving *me*."

Julian looked down upon her with great tenderness. He was intensely proud of his good work in Elisabeth's behalf, but he forced himself to say humbly:

"You never needed any saving. You would have done just as well without me as with me—without the Association, I mean. Do not class yourself with *her*." He tightened his hold on her arm. She looked up gratefully—but shook her head. Her devoted appreciation of his efforts was balm to his broken spirit. He was eager to believe that she spoke truly and he did not contradict her again.

A street car came up and they boarded it hastily. After they had seated themselves, Julian scanned the young girl's face to see if she had lost any of that exalted estimate of himself which he accepted—man like—as an exquisite trait in her character. She returned his scrutiny with an upward, eloquent glance that for the moment satisfied his self-love.

"She was dressed so as to look as if she had been to the opera; I could almost think I'd seen her there." Elisabeth's thoughts were still on the woman whom she believed Julian had been endeavoring to save.

"A very superficial imitation—it's wretched how all classes imitate our social butterflies—the harm they do is immense," Julian spoke in sore irritation, he hardly knew why. The words

of the courtesan were ringing in his ears unpleasantly. "*Turning over the mud with a stick*," was a phrase she had doubtless caught from her socialist friend, and it rankled in his mind even while her championship of their theories spread an unsavory atmosphere around all such visionary schemes.

"We get out here," he said wearily.

Soon afterward they reached the steps of his boarding house. It was the only alternative he could think of that would be safe for Elizabeth and he had enough confidence in the kindheartedness of his landlady to feel sure that he could trust the girl to her tender mercies.

He opened the door with his latch-key and admitted Elizabeth to a dark parlor where he left her while he sought the landlady. He returned shortly to tell Elizabeth there was a room she could have for the night on the third floor—so the landlady had said. He bade her good night and retired to his own chamber.

Julian poked up the fire in his little stove and sank heavily into an arm chair. Now that he was bereft of Elizabeth's sustaining presence, and the idolatry of her eyes—the experience of the evening spread themselves out before him as detestable; not less so was that hated image of himself as he reviewed his actions and counted up the pitiable weaknesses which they revealed. The embarrassment which had resulted from taking Elizabeth to the opera was of small moment beside the episode of the bedizened young woman. The hateful poison which this adventure poured into his soul at first seemed to centre in the haunting, satirical suggestion of Marian's lovely presence behind the painted features of the street woman. To the strained vision of the young moralist, their spiritual identity was unquestionably complete. And not less terrible than Marian's was his own duplicity in appearing before the world as a protector of the weak and a regenerator of the slums. This vision of the double role he had been playing piled up the agony of self-accusation mountain high.

He sprang to his feet suddenly and began to pace the floor. His mental suffering had brought him to the point where a way out must be found. What could he do to strengthen his moral purpose, to free himself from this scourging of conscience? After a long pause, he lighted the gas and took down his flute and violin which he laid on the table. He regarded them steadily.

"These are the things which have misled me! I have been false—an eye servant—a hypocrite!" He covered his face with his hands.

When he looked up there was a strange light in his eyes. He took his bow quietly in his hands and broke it in two; he pushed the violin with the strings loosened and awry into the darkest corner of the cupboard. In the same deliberate manner he un-

screwed his flute and put the mouth-piece in the stove, covering it up carefully with ashes; he locked the piano and put the key into his pocket; he would return the instrument to the dealer without delay. For a moment he stood pale and motionless, his lips set, his eyes dilating.

He recalled the street woman and her biting comments on his sincerity and the worth of his work. She had seemed to him to point satirically to a gaping tomb, inviting him to lay his young life down there among those awful shapes of rottenness, as proof of that his altruism was anything more than condescension. Can the living consort with the dead for the good of either? With contempt he classed her among the dead and rejected her plea that there was "good in her"—enough good to warrant the sacrifice she asked.

But it remained still firmly fixed in his mind that self-sacrifice was the price he would have to pay for the regeneration of the spirit that he hungered for—that quit-claim of conscience that would make good his title to the peace that passeth all understanding. He must have that peace.

What other sacrifices, then, could he make? These things that he had given up were trifles; on what altar should he fling the wretched remnant of his life? He reflected deeply. Certain mental reservations on points of religious dogma—as yet hardly thought out but still distinct bridges to be crossed—shut out all question of the monastic orders. Besides, the god of his soul was humanity, not Christian organization. He could serve humanity only through the needs of the individual; therefore, it was on behalf of some individual that he must sacrifice himself—but what living fellow-creature stood most in need of the devotion he craved to give?

He shook himself and smiled as the picture of a great and costly—yet entirely practicable—sacrifice loomed suddenly before him. The image of the young girl, Martha McPherson, standing in eternal loneliness, with the finger of scorn pointed at her babe, rose before him. He saw himself standing beside her as the self-appointed protector of Martha and the fatherless child. He would take upon himself this burden of another's sin; he would make what vicarious atonement he could for the wrongs heaped on those defenseless young heads. The cruel fact of their double illegitimacy—as if God and man had joined hands to disinherit them—had always cut him to the heart.

This should be his atonement! It would lead him in ways of humility more isolated than any that are to be found in the cloister; it would require moral courage of a high order, for he would still be out in the world battling with the foes of the reformer, enduring the cold stare of the scornful, the ridicule of the thoughtless. He would encircle these two helpless beings with his tender protection, his life long constancy; from that

centre, his life would radiate into noble service for all humanity. Self-abnegation must always be the watchword of the reformer, but it should begin at the hearth-stone. His life should be consistent, if nothing else.

Throwing himself again in his arm chair, Julian leaned his elbow on the table; a book fell to the floor; he picked it up to replace it. It was a copy of Hall Caine's *Christian*, which Denning had persuaded him to buy and which he had finished reading a few days before. Julian pitched it violently back on the table; then he caught it up again with a groan and turned over its pages. Denning had discussed with him the merits of this novel and they had found themselves unable to agree over it. Julian had declared it to be devoid of moral power and illustrative only of the groveling, degenerate tendencies of modern English fiction. The writer, he had insisted, was without spiritual insight and yet he had dared to portray the highest struggles of the spirit. But Denning had contended that the story represented life as it was, and he considered it a masterpiece of realistic art.

To Julian's overwrought imagination, the career of John Storm was now suddenly revealed to him as a caricature of his own life. The thought filled him with a despairing rage. He tossed the volume into the stove that already held the remnants of his musical instruments, and closed his eyes to the sight of the flames consuming it.

Staggering to his bedside, he fell on his knees and cast his soul into prayer. When he arose, his face wore the wasted look of the ascetic; but it was beautiful with the unearthly passion that has so often consumed its earthly prototype—that strange passion which since the beginning of the world has inspired the most heroic deeds and the darkest crimes of history; which has wasted countless noble lives and ennobled many feeble ones.

Julian now felt free—purified—uplifted.

(To be continued)

A Communication

In the August number of the "International Socialist Review," Carl Pankopf undertakes to reply to an article written by Herman Whitaker, and published in the previous June number, trying to prove that labor received upwards of 50 per cent. of the product of its labor. Mr. Whitaker argued from figures given by Labor Statistician Carroll D. Wright; and Mr. P. in reply admits the figures, but denies the outcome thereof. He says: "Census of 1880, the average product of each laborer was \$1,888; the 1890 census gives the average price as \$2,204; or an increase of \$316.

The average wage of the laborer who produced the product is given for 1880, \$347; for 1890, \$445. * * * The percentage of 1890 census is divided as follows: 20.18 per cent. to labor; 24.74 per cent. to profit; and 55.08 per cent. to material.

Carl Pankopf then goes on to show from Marx that the 55.08 per cent. for material must come out of labor, hence labor gets 20.18, and capital must get the balance, or 79.82 per cent.

Admitting the figures of Carroll D. Wright to be correct, which both the disputants appear to do, then in my opinion Mr. Whitaker has by far the best of the argument.

In the figures given, capital means the man who owns the establishment and furnishes the money to set the machinery going; and labor means, say, one of the men employed. At the end of the year it is found that \$20.18 out of every \$100 earned goes to the laborer; \$24.74 to the owner of the establishment; and \$55.08 is required to pay for the raw material.

The question to be considered now is: Where does the raw material come from? Mr. P. argues from Marx that it is the product of labor; but herein is the lameness of his argument. There can be no doubt in the mind of any thinker, socialist or otherwise, that it is the product of labor, but not of this particular laborer who has received the 20.18 per cent. of the transaction. This material which represents the 55.08 per cent. may be raw cotton, or wool, or iron, or coal, or a thousand and one other things; or parts of many of them combined. If iron, then labor has received some pay for digging it from the bowels of the earth and preparing it for use and shipment; the same of coal. If cotton or wool, it has gone through various processes wherein labor has been paid more or less, and so on *ad infinitum*; and consequently the 55.08 of this particular case does not figure herein as labor, but in various other labor cases. Hence we must look elsewhere for a correct solution of this item of the labor problem.

John M. Day.

¤ SOCIALISM ABROAD ¤

Professor E. Untermann

A RETROSPECT.

The time of general summer relaxation invites us to pause for a moment in our strenuous advance on capitalism, to take a retrospect in the shadow of cool reflection, and to "become conscious in our inmost hearts of what we have accomplished," as Schiller has it.

THE GENERAL SITUATION.

Looking backward we perceive that the attitude of the socialists in all countries varies with the economic situation of their respective countries.

In the United States, the evolution of capitalism proceeds truest to the classical type outlined by Marx, and has almost reached its climax. Unencumbered by any fossil remains of feudal superstitions, American proletarians readily assimilate the economic creed of socialism. The socialists find all elements favorable to an unprecedented growth of their numbers, and recent developments in the labor world indicate that the capitalist system is beginning to crumble. Anticipating its speedy collapse, we are frankly revolutionary, and the immediate demands, though embodied in the national platform, have more educational value than political significance. For the system of capitalist production has reached a stage where it is pregnant with forces that may lead to a social or industrial catastrophe at any moment. The continual rumblings under the surface and little preliminary outbreaks here and there seem to indicate that a grand eruption of the volcano is imminent. It is safe to predict under such circumstances that socialism in the United States, though at present considerably behind the march of industrial evolution, will shortly out-distance the proletarian movement of all other countries.

England, defeated in its role of the workshop of the world and no longer master of the money market, does not yet realize that it is on the verge of economic decay. By the help of its enormous sea trade, of its East Indian empire, and by forcing open the gold mines and diamond fields of South Africa, it still hopes to recoup its losses. But American goods are swamping the English middle class, which has already lost its economic, and with it its political, power. American money is carrying on the war in the Transvaal and will, therefore, draw the dividends out of the gold mines and diamond fields. The decks are cleared for the decisive struggles between the great capitalists and the rest of the people. The socialists understand the situation and are preparing for the grand advance of the proletariat. However, this advance meets obstacles unknown in the United States. The time-hallowed traditions of the nobility and the Grace-of-God kingdom, the emigration of the independent and aggressive workers, the absence of universal suffrage and the existence of three unreconciled brands of socialism—Fabian Socialists, Independent Labor Party and Social Democratic (Marxian) Party—stand in the way of rapid progress. And though the Fabian mixture of bourgeois socialism is losing its hold, though the trade unions are beginning to take up politics, and though a unification of the I. L. P. and the S. D. P. cannot be delayed very long, English socialists will occupy the position of reserves in the international battle of the proletariat.

France and Germany form the economically most developed head of a group of which Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Denmark are branch offices. The railroad monopoly being in the hands of the respective governments, there is no opportunity for rapidly amassing such enormous private fortunes as American millionaires reaped, and are still reaping, from this source. The industries which at the present time lend themselves best to monopolization, the steel and mining business, are forced to meet the competition of the superior American monopolies, and this forever weakens their position. The next greatest sources of private enrichment are the extensive colonial possessions of these countries. But, the field of most profitable exploitation, the exchange of inferior home products—dry goods, cheap alcoholic drinks, glass pearls, knives, etc.—for ivory, cocoanut oil, copra, orseille, caoutchouc, copal, gazelle and monkey skins, is being rapidly exhausted. Colonial agriculture—sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, manila hemp, ramie, cocoanuts, spices, cocoa, vanilla—and stock raising—ostriches, camels, zebras—require considerable outlay and are subject to all their peculiar vicissitudes intensified by a tropical climate. By the time they yield returns, many of these enterprises will also have to meet American competition. For have not our capitalists likewise their colonies, and do they not control more capital, better machinery and more pliant working "mules" than any other capitalists in the world?

For these reasons the countries of Europe are occupying the same position in regard to the United States which the small capitalist occupies in regard to the billionaire. They are being pressed harder and harder. Evolution stagnates and concentration does not progress to the point of monopoly. The outlines of capitalist development become blurred. This is clearly reflected by the platforms and tactics of our European comrades as well as by theoretical discussions.

"The economic developments of the last years," writes Emil Geyer in the June number of the *Zukunft*, "has proceeded contrary to the hopes and predictions of scientific socialism. An enormous increase of capitalist power has come through the pooling of the most important branches of industry, creating an organization which exhibits all the marks of duration and forming a new era in the history of the bourgeoisie. The resulting change in the political views is remarkable enough. In the ranks of the proletariat we find in place of the former optimistic anticipation a dropping of illusions, a resigned renunciation of the hope for a near realization of the socialist idea of society. A probing and gnawing of the Marxian structure of doctrines which had hitherto been considered impregnable. A strong inclination to favor opportunism, the policy of little measures. Just a little disappointment and much patience, instead of exaggerated scepticism. This approximately describes the prevailing sentiments of the Social Democracy."

A glance beyond the narrow limits of his fatherland, the recollection that capitalism is international and that its phenomena should be discussed from the cosmopolitan point of view, would at once show to our critical friend that the Marxian doctrine finds a complete vindication in this country where capitalism is nearing the time when it cannot expand much further without bursting.

But he correctly describes the sentiments in the ranks of the German social democrats. There is indeed a strong current in favor of immediate measures. Bernstein continually emphasizes such tactics, and at the next national convention there will be a determined fight to adapt the platform of the party to the exigencies of the economic situation. Kautsky is the only writer who seems to feel that there is no necessity for a theoretical change of position, although he gives the impression that the question of tactics will require settlement.

In France the Millerand case, a natural product of the political and economic constellation, adds another difficulty for the theorizer who is in

the habit of confounding tactical and theoretical principles. And the irony of fate brings it about that the anti-ministerial and fanatically Marxian Parti Ouvrier does more for the introduction of immediate improvements in the municipalities than the ministerialist and opportunist majority of French socialists. There is no doubt, therefore, that but for Millerand there would now be a united socialist party in France.

However, in spite of their difference of opinion in matters of tactics, we shall find the strong army of French and German comrades close by our side, when the hour for the decisive battle shall come in the United States. For, unlike their English friends, they are practically in control of the economic organizations of the workers, they are carrying on a vigorous fight for universal and equal suffrage, and they have successfully exchanged their patriotism for cosmopolitanism.

Not quite so the Austrian comrades. Austria-Hungary is suffering economically and politically from the national dissensions of the different "patriotic" races that make up its population. While much more heterogeneous elements are peaceably co-operating in the United States, under the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon race, they are fighting each other tooth and nail in the Austrian Reichstag, and all of them together fight the luckless Jews. The socialists are the only ones who successfully unite all the different races in one political party. Still, such an environment as the Austro-Hungarian is not favorable to trade unionism, and adds peculiar difficulties to the stagnating tendencies of the industrial situation. No great action can therefore be expected from the Austrian comrades in the near future. The same must be said of the socialists in Bulgaria, Servia and Roumania, not to mention Turkey, where the population is still too much under the influence of the Koran and where the "Young Turks" are preparing the way by which socialism will later on enter the Osmanian empire. Greece is closely connected with Turkish conditions.

Belgium stands before a social crisis. The peculiar feature of the situation is that the class-conscious proletariat there is on the point of becoming politically dominant, although the country is by no means industrially developed to the bursting point. It is simply the cosmopolitan evolution of capitalism that produces in this little country and in all other small European countries conditions favorable to the growth of a proletariat. They have the least power of resistance, because they have the least resources. Their colonies are exploited by foreign capital. The colonial administration for the benefit of foreign investors is unable to withstand corruption and gradually becomes such an encumbrance on the public treasury, that the colonies are lost or sold one by one. Spain is a case in point, and Italy's lack of colonial possessions is now an advantage, delaying her ruin. Her adventure in Adowa has been a hard, but timely, lesson.

In all these smaller countries we perceive a deep-rooted agitation of the masses. And, curiously enough, their immediate attack is not directed against the capitalists themselves, but against the clergy, who are recognized as the more or less conscious tool of capitalism. In Italy, in Spain, in Belgium, as some time ago in France, the guardians of the human soul are learning by practical demonstration, how vain is the possession of goods that the moths and the rust will eat. Forced to give up their earthly holdings and driven out of the public schools, they are truly in a sad plight. It is as if the masses realized all of a sudden that the enormous property amassed by the various religious orders comes out of the hide and tallow of the people, that the orders have not been practicing the renunciation of worldly things which they preach, and that the spiritual teachers of the people are far from being trusty, intellectual guides. The loss of the clerical grip on the mind of the masses is a defeat for capitalism.

In Belgium the fight rages around the demand for universal suffrage. It is a winning battle for the socialists. After some desultory skirmishing

along personal lines, the struggle in the Chamber has been deferred by the summer vacation. In the meantime the socialists are carrying on a strenuous agitation, and very likely the Belgian government will not celebrate a conspicuously merry Christmas this year. The knowledge that half the army, militia and police are socialists is not calculated to soothe the troubled dreams of King Leopold and his capitalists. It looks as if it would be a pretty close race between Belgian and American socialists for the first place.

Holland's economic fate is intimately connected with that of the Maatschappij "Nederland." As long as the latter company's monopoly of the East Indian trade pays dividends, the Dutch colonies will keep the kingdom on a safe financial basis. So much smaller will be the public debt which the socialists will have to repudiate when they come into power. At present they are in no immediate danger of being confronted with such a responsibility, and Wilhelmina may drink her Java coffee in peace.

Denmark's socialists are following in the footsteps of the Belgian comrades. Ninety-five per cent of the workingmen organized in trade unions; trade unionism synonymous with socialism; nearly a thousand socialist consumers' clubs; and the Folkething in the hands of the Left—liberals and socialists—that makes propaganda and the fight for universal suffrage easy and is pleasant reading for us.

On the Skandinavian peninsula the chapter on socialism, I regret to say, reads almost like the famous chapter on snakes in Ireland. The peninsula does not offer very great inducements for exploitation, the waves of industrial prosperity never go very high in this out of the way part of the world, and unless the supply of stock fish and lumber gives out, there is very little prospect of a lesson in economics for proletarians. What socialist sentiment there is cannot find political expression, because the masses are as yet disfranchised. The Swedes, however, are stirring and campaigning for universal suffrage.

Switzerland is dependent for raw products and industrial machinery on foreign countries. There are no large industrial centers, hence there is no great city proletariat. Industrial laborers are largely recruited from among the rural population or from foreigners who are not naturalized. Under such circumstances the economic organization and political education of the workers meets great difficulties. Nevertheless socialism is growing under the pressure of the world market.

Italy, in its transition from feudal to capitalist production, has a good start over Spain, whose economic decay is just awakening the proletarians. The wonderful leagues of the rural population in Italy and their co-operatives have turned the proletariat of a whole province into socialists. They are the center from which effective socialist propaganda radiates in all directions. They hold the economic fate of their masters in their hands. But such splendid use are they making of their opportunity that even the capitalist press praises their progress and excellent administration. Spain's proletarians are becoming very active of late, and the rural population of certain districts is beginning to organize after the Italian model. In both countries the weight of American supremacy in the world market is rapidly increasing the necessity of immediate social reform and forcing the rulers and their adherents into the defensive. Improvements will come in Italy in the form of state socialism under the auspices of the king, and in Spain under a similar guise. In both countries the royal houses are fiddling on the last string. The Italian socialists will, by all appearances, far outstrip the English comrades, and the Spaniards, who have very fair election laws, will give the Hollanders a close race.

Russia is still too little developed industrially for a rapid growth of socialism. Among the intellectuals the revolutionary seed has come to full bloom, but the intellectuals are powerless without the help of the industrial proletarians. The abolition of the autocratic power of the Tsar and of his

machinery of spies, the further development of the Russian continental and trans-Siberian railroads, and the conquest of the Chinese markets by Russian capital, or the complete defeat of the Russian capitalists, are necessary steps toward a realization of conditions that will permit the successful spreading of socialism among that immense population.

Canada, the Argentine Republic, Australia and Japan are the great countries where socialism is going through the first stages of its growth. A child of the last half of the nineteenth century, it is a veritable prodigy, and by its wonderful growing power astonishes its best friends. Fifty years is only a short day in the life of a world power. But already this *ENFANT TERRIBLE* is the talk of the whole globe. In the palaces of Europe, at the table of the American millionaire, in the plateaus of the Himalaya, on the icy steppes of Siberia, in the oases of the Sahara, on board of the whalers and sealers that ply in the Arctics—everywhere socialism is a standing topic. If the child causes such a stir, what will the man do?

THE HOST AND ITS WAKE.

It is a strong and relentless force that is camping on the trail of capitalism. In the van we see the long and thin line of American and Belgian skirmishers. The Americans 150,000 strong, the Belgians with thirty-two deputies, four senators and 500,000 men. Then follows the main body of the army: The Germans with ninety-six deputies and 2,700,000 men, the Frenchmen with one minister, forty-two deputies and 1,500,000 men, the Italians with thirty-two deputies and 170,000 men, and the Danes with fourteen deputies and 43,000 men. Behind them stands the strong reserve corps: Austrians with eleven deputies and 100,000 men, Holland with seven deputies and 17,000 men, England with one deputy and 63,000 men. Spain with 50,000 men, and Switzerland with 100,000 men. The whole force represents an actually registered vote of 5,393,000; but considering the capitalist election methods, which are alike all over the world, 7,000,000 seems a very conservative estimate of our voting strength. Taking into account that the majority of the proletarians in Europe are still disfranchised and cannot express their political opinion by the ballot, allowing, furthermore, for the existence of socialism in Canada, South America, Australia, Africa and Japan, we may well count on a second reserve of 30,000,000 who will give us their moral support and take active part in our propaganda, although they cannot help us at present at the polls.

Never has the world seen such an army, and never did an army leave behind such a wake. The road we have traveled is strewn with records which we can safely expose to the criticisms of posterity. Falsehood, hypocrisy, political corruption and the whole ambiguous code of capitalist ethics has fared badly wherever it met the searching rays of the socialist torch. Science, blighted by the mildew of capitalist privileges, lifted its head with fresh vigor when the magic wand of proletarian class consciousness touched it. Thrones totter and the narrow bigotries of class egoism, patriotic nationalism and religious superstitions fit for children's minds must give way to human freedom, cosmopolitan understanding and a new faith worthy of free men. The parliamentary history of socialism and the pages of the socialist press are one continual record of championship in the service of the downtrodden majority of human society. No other party might so justly boast that its platform was always in harmony with the scientific knowledge of the times. A tiny, smouldering spark when it first started, socialism has now become a mighty column of fire, lighting the world, tempering the steel of human nature in its heat, and burning away the dross of thousand-year-old egoism.

The old decays, time is with changes rife,
And on the ruins blooms a fairer life.*

*Das Alte sturzt, es andert sich die Zeit,
Und neues Leben bluht aus den Ruinen.—*Wilhelm Tell.*

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

The great iron and steel workers' strike for the right to organize is now on and being waged fiercely and desperately by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers and the billion-dollar United States Steel corporation. The union claims the right to organize all the mills, and to be denied that right means that the trust would keep the non-union plants in operation during slack periods and close down the union-controlled concerns, which is practically placing a premium on scab labor. The trust admits that the union is "growing too strong," and that it proposes to hold the balance of power between the A. A. and the non-union employes. At this writing it is difficult to predict the outcome of the struggle, and it is probable that other trades may be drawn into the fight. The A. A. has sent out an appeal for moral and financial aid, which is meeting with liberal response.

The results of the recent unity convention of socialists in Indianapolis seem to have pleased the progressive labor people throughout the country, and enthusiastic reports of the growth of the movement are finding their way into the socialist and trade union press. Of course, the capitalists and their newspapers don't like the outcome of the convention.

Textile workers are combining into one large union. They expect a big strike at Fall River, Mass., where the employers' combination has given notice of a reduction of wages. The charge is made that the bosses are deliberately conspiring to enforce a shutdown and wage-cut in order to work off the surplus product now on the market.

The A. F. of L. has sent out a circular to compel affiliated locals to join city central bodies. The Federation has experienced a wonderful growth during the past few months.

Building bosses of Ohio are reported as combining to destroy unions. The scheme is for each boss to send a pliant employe or two to some point where a strike is in progress until the unionists have been defeated.

Western papers report that a California judge has found a way of declaring the eight-hour law of that state unconstitutional. The Minnesota attorney-general has decided that the eight-hour law of that state applies merely to laborers and mechanics engaged in constructing public buildings and working under contract, which leaves a way open to annul the law completely. Ohio Supreme Court made a decision that destroys the effectiveness of the law to compel the marking of convict-made goods. One by one they are put to sleep.

Pennsylvania miners are busily denouncing the legislature for having defeated their "labor bills," and it turns out that the only measure passed that they advocated, the mine inspection bill, contains a "fatal flaw," and probably cannot be enforced. In direct contrast the Michigan miners' officials have issued a statement to their constituents declaring that \$420 was spent in the attempt to secure favorable legislation without anything having been accomplished, and that it is a waste of time and money to lobby for laws in the interest of labor before capitalistic legislatures. The rank and file are urged to work and vote to place in the legislative halls, class-conscious men from labor's ranks to fight for their interests.

Longshoremen are spreading out on industrial lines, having given "trade autonomy" a knockout blow, by voting to take under their wing the seamen, engineers, firemen, tugmen, cooks, etc. Some of the crafts to be gobbled up are kicking strenuously, however.

P. J. McGuire, general secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, and formerly first vice-president of the A. F. of L. has been ousted from office and suspended from the union for refusing to carry out the mandate of the executive board.

The National Bread Company is a \$3,000,000 combine that has just been incorporated in New Jersey for the purpose of acquiring all the bread bakeries in Newark, Jersey City, and later New York, and its promoters are enthusiastic in claiming that they will soon control the output of all the cities of the country. The company controls valuable patents and claims to have a bread making machine that kneads bread without the use of hand labor and at the same time increases the size and weight of the baked loaf 30 per cent with the same quantity of flour. "The labor-saving problem," a dispatch from Trenton says, "will enter largely into the calculations of the new concern, its promoters figuring that, with the machine in general use, 50,000 men can be dispensed with."

The Textile Record says the reported recent discovery of a new fuel in New England is a fact. The new fuel "is superior to coal in heat efficiency, and contains not a particle of coal in the shape of waste or in any other shape."

The discovery of a method by an Englishman of printing without ink is no joke. Scientific men have investigated the matter and find that the inventor uses electricity on a specially prepared paper, which costs no more than ordinary paper, and which decomposes by the action of the current, thus blackening wherever the type touch it. The prediction is made that "this system of printing will be one of the cheapest known." After a while the inventor, a Mr. Green, says he will do away with cylinders and forms as now in use on presses completely.

Assistant City Chemist Jones of Chicago believes he has discovered a method of solving the problem that has baffled Edison, Tesla, and a hundred other inventors, and that is to produce electric power without the intermediate production of steam. By mixing powdered coal with sulphate of lead in a heat reduction retort, Jones claims that he can produce a current, the mechanical energy of which is equal to 35 per cent of the stored energy of the coal consumed. As the best combination of furnace, boiler and dynamo produces only about one-fourth as much power, Mr. Jones' invention, if it can be adapted to or by ordinary needs promises to add a few more revolutions to production.

A new book binding machine has been put on the market. With two operators and one-half horse power, it is stated that the new device can turn out 17,000 books per day and do the work of a hundred men.

A new automatic weaver is announced. It is in operation in Burnley, England. One person now operating four looms can easily attend to eight, "and at the same time produce 12½ per cent more per loom by the obviating of stoppages than under the present system."

In the tannery industry they are discussing a new method of tanning by electricity. It is claimed that by the new process tanning can be done from four to sixteen times quicker than under the old system.

A Cleveland man will soon put a machine on the market that will knit high-priced rugs which are now made by hand.

The multiplex type-printing telegraph is now in successful operation between Berlin and Paris, says a United States consul, and one operator can do the work of five.

New machinery is making rapid inroads into the stone and granite cutting trades, and the workers are discussing various methods of controlling it. And so the revolution in production and the destruction of the skill of mechanics, making them dependent on capitalists for the use of the new tools, goes steadily onward. There can be no other solution to this question than collective ownership of the tools of production instead of individual ownership.

The United States Steel Corporation has gobbled up four-fifths of the coke ovens of this country, which have passed under the control of H. C. Frick.

The soft coal trust is steadily growing in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, and a late report says the railway combine of Indiana is to be used to force the organized operators of that state into line.

A hundred smelting concerns of Nevada are forming a trust; capital, \$12,500,000.

A \$10,000,000 dredging trust is announced in Chicago.

Another attempt is being made to combine the larger shoe manufacturers of the country.

About 3,000 grocery stores of Philadelphia are to be brought into a \$6,000,000 trust, and in Cleveland the larger retail coal dealers are forming one big company.

Down South a \$50,000,000 cotton trust is organizing.

The cigar trust is building what will be the largest factory in the world in New Orleans, and is acquiring control of the best tobacco plantations in Cuba, Porto Rico and other islands.

The rubber trust is strengthening its monopoly by taking over independents and securing control of the raw material in South America.

Cast iron manufacturers are organizing a \$15,000,000 combine.

Laundry machinery is being trustified at \$30,000,000.

Tea importers and handlers are getting together to maintain "stability of prices."

Largest wholesale houses of the country are to be in a \$100,000,000 trust.

A huge international window glass trust is forming.

Rockefeller is said to be absorbing the paint trust and its independent competitors.

Morgan has settled the western railway war and is reaching for South American roads.

The Central Federated Union of New York, the largest central body of labor in the country, in endorsing the iron and steel workers' strike and pledging moral and financial support, calls upon the workingmen of the United States to combine and "by the use of the ballot overthrow the system that makes combinations of capital like the steel corporation possible."

The Wisconsin Federation of labor adopted a resolution declaring in favor of socialism, but did not let it go at that. The officers of the Federation were also instructed to purchase literature dealing with socialism and circulate the same among the workers.

The union miners of Colorado are reported as having earnestly taken up the cudgels in the interest of the new socialist party, and Debs and other speakers have been invited to come to the state and make addresses.

By an almost unanimous vote the Toronto Trades and Labor Council decided to support morally and financially the present movement in Canada to build up a socialist party. These kinds of resolutions count for something.

Colored preachers of St. Louis are said to have started a movement to organize the workers of their race into trade unions.

The limit in judicial oppression has not yet been reached apparently. Judge Gager of Derby, Conn., and Judge Kumler of Dayton, O., have developed a new phase in the injunction business. The former restrained about 150 machinists from doing anything but breathing, in the usual manner, and then attached a penalty of \$5,000 for violation of the courtly decree and ordered an attachment for \$25,000 on the property of the machinists, individually and collectively, to assure the payment of the fine. The Dayton judge has gone even further in the injunction game. After restraining the metal polishers from "intimidating," etc., etc., Judge Kumler compelled the union and the members thereof to pay \$586 court costs which resulted in their own undoing, and attached their homes and

building loans to guarantee payment. Altogether the case has cost the Dayton metal polishers \$2,000, and they are now appealing for funds to enable them to save their individual property. Further than that the capitalists have brought a suit for \$25,000 damages because they were subjected to losses through a boycott, they claim.

In Patterson, N. J., several silk weavers have been thrown into prison for the alleged violation of an injunction. In York, Pa., two molders received the same treatment, and in Kansas City a machinist was also jailed because he couldn't hide his contempt for the court. What, with imprisonment and damage suits staring them in the face for daring to strike, it seems that the trade unionists of America are confronted by Russian conditions. They receive scant satisfaction or commiseration at the hands of the politicians to whom they unfold their tales of woe, and there is a growing movement among the more thoughtful union men to take matters in their own hands by resorting to the ballot to capture the governing powers and put an end to the capitalistic travesty on justice. This is one reason that explains the present rapid growth of the new socialist party.

The great strike of the machinists for the nine-hour day is nearly over as a national movement, and the workers can claim a victory. Reports received at headquarters in Washington indicate that the men won in 75 per cent of the shops where demands were made, lost 15 per cent, and in 10 per cent of the shops the struggle still continues. It is but fair to say that a majority of the establishments that conceded the nine-hour day were small concerns, and that many of the shops in which the strike has lost were large ones. But the fact remains that the nine-hour day has come to stay, though it may require a year or two of fighting to bring the obstinate concerns in line. All through the strike the machinists union has experienced a wonderful increase in membership, and undoubtedly that craft will be on a substantial basis after the campaign is closed, despite the machinations of employers' organizations and their injunction-hurling courts.

The United States department of agriculture has issued a report dealing with the wonderful effects of machinery in increasing and cheapening the output of various products, which is causing widespread discussion among those interested in scientific subjects. In 1851, according to the report it required four hours and thirty-four minutes of labor time on the average to produce a bushel of corn, and the cost of the work was $35\frac{3}{4}$ cents. But to-day with machinery as much work can be done in one minute as hand labor formerly did in 100 minutes, and now the working time on a bushel of corn is thirty-four minutes and the cost is $10\frac{1}{2}$ cents. In 1850 the labor time necessary to raise a bushel of wheat was three hours and three minutes. To-day, with machinery, a bushel of wheat is raised in only 10 minutes, while the cost of production has fallen from $17\frac{3}{4}$ cents to 3 1-3 cents. And yet in the face of these cold facts, there are still a few confused financial theorists who claim that the price fall was due to the demonetization of silver.



BOOK REVIEWS



The Social Problem. John A. Hobson. James Pott & Co. Cloth, 292 pp., \$2.00.

"Given a number of human beings, with a certain development of physical and mental faculties and of social institutions, in command of given natural resources, how can they best utilize these powers for the attainment of the most complete satisfaction?" This is "The Social Problem" with whose discussion the author is occupied. The "old political economy" is first subjected to a most searching analysis. Of its doctrine of "individual freedom" he says: "Applied logically, this doctrine of 'freedom' is revolutionary, demanding access for all to land and capital. But 'the tools to him who can use them' is an inconvenient doctrine for owners of tools who wish to get other folk to use them. So this positive 'freedom' was emptied of its economic contents and came to mean freedom qualified by vested interests—a very different sort of 'freedom' for the laboring classes." Its false standard of wealth, by which only those things capable of monopoly and private appropriation are reckoned as of value is exposed. Of the so-called "new political economy" he concludes that "Taking economic science as it stands in current English thought, the changes of the last generation have not made it capable of human service in the solution of the social question."

His criticism of the "moral socialists" is no less conclusive. "Just as the 'future life' has been commonly exploited by religions in order to belittle this life, and so to divert the potential energy of political and economic reform into innocuous extra-terrestrial channels, so our 'moral socialists' play the soul against the body, even in this world, and the ground motives for this false philosophy are the same as those which played the next world against this world. * * * While no high purpose is barren of results, it should be clearly recognized that the endeavor to solve economic problems by direct appeal to the moral conduct of individual members is foredoomed to failure."

The main thought of the book centers around a distinction between individualism and socialism. The individual has a "natural right" to what is necessary to satisfy his needs and render him an efficient worker. But society also is a creator of values and is entitled to what it creates. An excellent distinction is drawn between "industry and art." But the conclusion which is drawn from this distinction that the artistic portion of life must naturally be left to be controlled by competition and private property is by no means justified. The exact contrary seems much more true—that these will be among the first to pass out of private control, at least so far as production for sale is concerned. The author's whole work is marred by a false idea of socialism. He seems to have been impressed by the Fabian error that socialism is somehow but a scheme of administration of industry, and he utterly ignores the fundamental principle of

class rule and the class struggle. Hence he is led into the ridiculous conclusion that because the capitalist state institutions are cursed with mechanical officialism and seek to corrupt all artistic effort into routine training for profit making industry, therefore a state of the workers would do the same. Perhaps a cause for this error is found in the fact that no reference is made to the works of other socialist writers, although the larger portion of the book is based upon their work. Nevertheless the book is one which fills a place in the literature of socialism and is well worth the careful study of every socialist or student of socialism.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

One of the many signs that socialism has now become a force that must be reckoned with is an editorial in "The Independent," entitled "Socialism and the Municipal Problem." The first half of the editorial is based on the orthodox socialist philosophy. Speaking of the early opponents of socialism and the defenders of "individual enterprise," it says: "It did not happen to occur to the conservative minds of 1850 that by 1901 individual enterprise, without any help from socialism, would have built a gigantic wall around the vast world of industrial opportunity and locked itself not *in*, but *out*. * * * One of these tendencies is converting the great middle class, which so long has been regarded as more stable than the everlasting hills, from a class of employers into a class of employes." This class have heretofore "complacently thought of themselves as belonging to the happy pack of upper dogs, at whom the unhappy under dogs might snarl and snap, but would hardly dare to spring. * * * The middle class has never yet voted with Labor, with a big L. But when the 'trusts' and the 'magnates' have crushed every business and social ambition of the middle class, will the middle class still continue to vote with Capital, with a big C?"

After this very clear analysis of the situation the editor seems to have become frightened at his own logic and drops into something that can be called nothing less than idiotic. "What, then, if somebody should propose a compromise between socialism and individualism, permitting the individual to accomplish whatever he can with a capital of, say, not more than five millions of dollars, and converting into social enterprises all undertakings employing capital in greater amounts?" Here is a suggestion that ought to be of value to the "New Democracy" who are seeking to find some way to save the little exploiters, and this rule of thumb is much easier of application than any complex "natural monopoly" scheme.

The World's Work is almost exclusively an "Exposition number," and contains an excellent description of the mechanical marvels exhibited at Buffalo. "The time seems near when men will no longer need to do anything with their hands as instruments of strength. The task of toil may nearly all be done by machines. In the ideal completeness of this adaptation of machinery, man will be emancipated from mere muscular labor, and have his hands and time free to do only the tasks of skill. Work that is mechanical will become machine-work. This is a revolutionary step in human history." We hear of "pictures by wire," "typewriting by electricity," and the wonderful machine by which an author using a keyboard like an ordinary typewriter turns out "copy" in the form of a ribbon which is fed into a linotype that sets five thousand ems an hour at a cost of twelve cents a thousand ems.

From an article by Carroll D. Wright on "Great Industrial Changes since 1870," we learn that the census of 1900 will show the per capita wealth to be about \$1,500, or a little over \$6,000 per family. Doubtless some wage-earners will wonder what has become of their \$6,000. In the "March of Events" department the stale old lie is repeated that "the strike of the Amalgamated iron and steel workers is to compel the steel corporation to put all mills of the constituent companies under the rules of the union—to make all of them union mills."

H. T. Newcomb has the best summary of "The Recent Great Railway Combinations" in the last Review of Reviews that has yet been published. It is accompanied by maps of the various systems and elaborate statistics of the roads concerned. "The Artist Colony in Darmstadt" gives some very interesting suggestions on the new movement in art, which is seeking to harmonize art with modern industrial development.

EDITORIAL

A NEW MILESTONE FOR AMERICAN SOCIALISM

We believe that the future historian of the socialist movement of this country will agree that the most important thing he has to chronicle up to the present date is the work of the convention that met at Indianapolis during the closing days of July. For months before its assembly socialists all over the country had begun to realize that the supreme issue confronting the political movement of the laborers of this country was to make the socialist organization conform to the most developed capitalism in the world. European comrades had already conceded that if the philosophy of economic determinism is true (and if it is not the whole philosophy of socialism must be recast) then it is in the United States that socialism should reap its first great victories.

The one thing most essential to the gaining of such victories was that all the socialist organizations which agree upon fundamentals should be united into one solid body. At one time there was some doubt as to whether any such agreement existed among the various parties. The convention settled that question forever. However animated the discussions were that took place they were always but the clashing of minds standing upon a common base. There was never any difference of opinion as to the fact that the new party must stand upon a platform embracing the principles of class-conscious revolutionary socialism. There was no taint of Fabianism in the discussions. There was no proposal of deviation from the principles of international socialism ever offered to the convention. On the contrary, there was a strong feeling among many of the delegates that the new party should stand upon a platform more distinctly revolutionary than had ever been adopted by any previous socialist party. There was much support for the proposition that the time had come to drop all "immediate demands" from our platform. It was proposed that instead of giving them the prominence which a position at the close of the official platform accorded them, it would be better to issue an address giving in detail the position of the socialists relative to all attempts at amelioration within capitalism. This did not mean any endorsement of the so-called "catastrophe theory," but was simply a recognition of the fact that in

America at least, competition having disappeared, the "next step" was logically the installation of a co-operative society with as great rapidity as administrative difficulties would permit.

Strong opposition, however, was developed to this action, and as it was felt that the division to some degree was following the lines of former party organizations and hence might endanger unity, many of the supporters of the new policy felt that the time had not yet come to press their position. Hence, the matter was never brought to a real test of strength, and it is impossible to state exactly what the position of the convention was in the matter.

The other point around which the longest and hardest discussion raged was the question of "state autonomy." This discussion was but one of a great many things that showed that the socialist movement of this country was entering upon another and the third stage of its existence. In its earliest days socialism in America was little more than a small group of German comrades who met to renew their fellowship by discussions of the one subject of greatest common interest. This movement had almost no effect on America save to keep alive and ready for the time when conditions should be ripe for them the principles of scientific socialism.

Following this stage came one in which socialist doctrines were looked upon almost as some sacred treasure to be kept from the touch of all save the "elect." They formed the "mysteries" of a little sect whose main reason for existence was to keep its principles from defilement. Such an organization was necessarily bureaucratic in its organization, autocratic in its methods and intolerant in its teachings. There are some who would seek to continue this stage. Others see in it nothing of good. But the fact is that while it was once necessary its usefulness is now gone. At the time that this form of organization prevailed the socialists of America were confronted with a very peculiar condition. American economic development had been so rapid that the wildest utopianism and the most clear cut scientific socialism were existing side by side, with the utopians in an immense majority. Had all of those who were willing to accept the name of socialism and who were anxious to share in the control of the movement, but who were hopelessly ignorant of its doctrines and philosophy, been permitted to work their will the result would have been a confusion in thought and action such as even the world of American politics has never known. By in a measure isolating the doctrines of socialism until the economic development was ripe for their general acceptance in their true form, they were kept from becoming confused and ridiculous.

But the time is now here when the socialist movement must take another step and become a political party, a part of the actual political life of America. Its principles have become but a reflection of the capitalism of which they are an interpretation and their distortion is only possible by an amelioration of that capitalism. The person who would introduce confusion into American socialism must first undo the work of Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. He must abolish the trust and bring back the confusing influences of competition. This does not mean that all efforts to distort

the principles of socialism are at an end. It does not mean that in many local elections, and with many individual comrades and even minor organizations there will not be times when efforts will be made to bend those principles in the interests of decaying economic classes, but such efforts will be futile and will contain within themselves the elements of their own destruction. The moment the influences of confusion reach out into a wider sphere they will find themselves at war with the more powerful forces of the general economic development and will disappear.

It was in obedience to these facts that the convention sloughed off the old skin of ecclesiasticism and formed an organization for the purpose of work instead of discipline. From now on the attention of socialists will be given to those outside their organizations instead of to those within. It would be as impossible to-day to bring back the old centralized autocratic form of party organization as it would be to resurrect German as the "official language."

Another sign of this same evolution was seen in the very makeup of the convention. To the disgrace of the American workers it must be confessed that up until the present time they have not had sense enough to even desire their own emancipation. So it has happened that there have been few men of American birth at previous socialist conventions. At the Indianapolis convention, however, the number of young American born delegates was a source of frequent comment. It is safe to say that there was a much larger percentage of such men than would be found at any old party convention. A large majority of those who came from the West and Southwest were descendants of that race of hardy fighting pioneers who have been battling with the wilderness for a century and now finds itself confronted with social conditions more pitiless than the wild beasts or the native Indians of the primeval forest.

This new phase was shown again in the attention which was given to the farmer question. As most of our readers know this is the question which is attracting more attention than any other among European socialists. Yet it has received scant attention in previous American conventions. After a long discussion the Indianapolis convention appointed a committee to investigate all phases of the question and report at the next national convention.

Another committee was appointed to act in an advisory capacity on municipal affairs. There is every reason to believe that if this committee confines itself to the duties which were assigned it and does not attempt to revive the old "disciplinary tactics," it may do much to make the socialist municipal victories, of which there should be many at the next spring elections, extremely fruitful to the cause of socialism.

Taking the work of the convention as a whole we believe that we voice the sentiments of every delegate when we say that it was better than even the most sanguine anticipated. It was called to order as a gathering of more or less hostile factions. It adjourned as a single, solidified organization. There remained no body of men who felt that they had been coerced, slighted or outwitted. The foundation has been laid, broad, deep

and firm, on which to erect the mightiest political structure the world has ever known. Whether that structure will rise strong and symmetrical or not is for future workers to decide. We who were at the convention have done our part. Let us so act in the future as to have no part in the undoing of the work there accomplished.

We have just received a note from Comrade Emile Vinck saying that events have suddenly arisen that render it impossible for him to make his expected trip to America at this time. We regret very much that we shall be deprived of the pleasure of the company and assistance of Comrade Vinck and hope that it may only be a short time until circumstances will so shape themselves that the trip may be made. To the many American comrades who have written asking for dates for lectures we hope that this note will be received in place of a letter of explanation.

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